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REAL PEACE?

CANADA'S

WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

# Maclean's

APRIL 20, 1998

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# This Week

APRIL 20 1998 VOL. 113 NO. 16

## Departments

**EDITORIAL** 2

**LETTERS** 4

**OPENING NOTES/PASSAGES** 10

**CANADA** 12

Play under high seas leads the Tory leadership water. North Bay Ont. struggles with a rash of teen suicides

**WORLD** 20

Canada will take the lead in promoting hemisphere free trade at the upcoming Summit of the Americas in Chile

**BUSINESS** 26

More speed and than answers surprised Canada's new ministerial daily. Chubb and Tavakoli feel the urge to merge

**COVER** 38

**PEOPLE** 40

**HEALTH** 50

**JUSTICE** 52

A Jewish reformer from over his exclusion from the Gulf War, an inquiry Canada the state for Guy Paul Morin's wrongful murder conviction

**EDUCATION** 56

British Columbia offers an intriguing array of so-called alternatives to traditional universities

**MUSIC** 60

Recent vocalist Anne-Sophie Mutter has announced this year to be her last

**BOOKS** 64

Canada's Douglas Coupland, uncomfortable with his Gen X guru status, foresees a new spiritual philosophy

## Columns

**ANTHONY WILSON-GRANT** 9

**DENNIS HENNESSY** 23

**PETER C. BENJAMIN** 35

**GEORGE STEVENS** 64

Maclean's on the Internet:  
<http://www.macleans.ca>

## Cover

38

## AFTER DIVORCE

Once meant to liberate families from misery, divorce has caught many children in its crossfire. Now, many parents are taking part in a quiet social revolution, trying to create less acrimonious child-friendly alternatives to the traditional divorce



## Features

20

### Real peace at last?

The world tasted a landmark peace pact for Northern Ireland. But while leaders of the key warring parties embraced it, hardliners saw it as a sellout



12

### Bending to the pension revolt

Facing criticism from a wide-ranging coalition, Finance Minister Paul Martin is preparing to compromise on the proposed Severus Benefits

### 50 A breast cancer advance

A huge international study shows the drug tamoxifen not only halves the spread of breast cancer cells but keeps the disease from starting



# From The Editor

## Feelings for home, abroad



Robert Domes once observed: "Canada was not a country one loved, but a country one worried about." We certainly do worry—about distinct societies, our rights, life, love, due title of the Others. That is one reason it is good for a Canadian to go away, even for a few days. Not only do our problems pale in comparison with those in the rest of the world, we discover a growing recognition, even admiration, for a distinctive approach to life on this side of the 49th parallel. When the travel includes encounters with Canadians, there is another intriguing revelation—the ones who went away tend to be more greatly Canadian than the folks back home, and pointed that our unity problem endures.

That, at least, was the prevailing mood late last month when I had the opportunity to speak to, and with, a group of Canadians in Los Angeles. Calling themselves Canadians Abroad/Les Canadiens à l'étranger, an informal ad hoc group that includes business people, lawyers, bankers, filmmakers, consultants and others who meet periodically to view movies (The Arrow) and debate tax issues (immigration regulations, and rules that prevent Canadians from taking up their US\$50 back home) landed as they are in the West Coast, this group still keeps in touch with affairs in Canada.

Janice Lanzetta, a well-spoken Saskatchewan native, arrived in L.A. four years ago—"three days before the earthquake," as she recalls with a chuckle. A management consultant, she says that life in L.A. is "more aggressive and fast for the first of heart. Canada's perfect." And she adds, "When you get away, you long for the home country." She started Canadian Abroad last May, and

with 150 members already, she senses she is not alone in her longing. "We all had a common goal to start with," says Lanzetta.

Other Canadians around the world share her sentiments. Lisa Nicks moved to the city of Osaka, Japan, nine months ago to teach. In an e-mail last week, she wrote to Abraham: "Since moving here, the Canadian unity issue has become an even greater issue of importance in my life. It seems as if we will never reach a conclusion and that concerns me." She added: "Every day I come to work, my supervisor tells me how wonderful my country is. Children and people all over the world can see the greatness of our country. Why can't we?"



directly, recognition, education

It is a question that often confronts travelling Canadians. In the Balkans, in the independent states of the former Soviet Union, in the now-divided Czechoslovakia, the participants in the better struggles know about the Canadian unity issue. But rather than pessimism, there is often admiration when they meet a Canadian visitor. Strange as it may seem, the fact that we have managed to deal with our unity issues around conference tables—not battlefields—is a source of some envy in troubled parts of the world. And that is not counting Wayne Gretzky or Cliff Dryden.

Janice Nicks once said during a Canadian visit: "When I am in Canada, I feel like this is what the world should be like." It is good to be reminded of our blessings. And unfortunate that we sometimes have to go away to get a better taste for home.

Robert Lewis

## Newsroom Notes:

### A new generation

When Rita Williams donned a nanny's apron and wig in Mrs. Doubtfire, playing a separated father who was willing to cross-dress just to stay close to his kids, he struck a chord across North America. This week's cover package explores the quiet revolution taking place across the continent,



Joelton (left), Dredger, a quiet revolution in divorce

as separated parents—with or without the agreement of their ex-spouse—struggle to make their children more child-friendly.

Senior Writer Sharon Doyle Dredger spoke to dozens of families across the country, talked to children in their own support group and attended so-called divorce school in Edmonton. In the end, she was overwhelmed by the unflinching optimism

of parents who were determined to make peace, despite the hostility of former spouses and the daily reality of poverty.

Assistant Managing Editor Ann Downett Johnston, who oversees the project, is part of a new generation choosing to keep the courts out of their personal lives, determined to forge less adversarial arrangements. "You could call it the King Solomon approach," she says. "There are many of us determined not to put children in half fathers who remain involved in a day-to-day, mothers who are willing to make room for that involvement. The joy is out, but I like to believe our children will prosper."

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Trudeau, Jean Chrétien, defining Canada to the world

## Looking back

At the time your story about Pierre Trudeau was released ("When we were young," Cover, April 6), Trudeau and his son Sacha were staying at our resort near Vernon, B.C. During harvest, he took the time to speak with many local residents and share his accounts. Everyone who met him was thrilled and eager to be a guest in every sense of the word. We enjoyed reading about Trudeau's past and present.

Good Plains  
Silver Star Winery Resort, B.C.

Pierre Trudeau's lasting gift to this country is not so much that he defined Canada to the world, but that he defined Canadians to themselves. Before Trudeau, Canadians looked upon themselves as quiet, peaceable folk with the determination to get along at the corners when the occasion merited. But Trudeau changed the Canadian character by showing us that style and grace could be incorporated into our national identity without losing the traditional traits of reserve.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

should be addressed to:  
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and indoctrination of schools. He encouraged Canadians to look beyond ideologist ideologues and give us the confidence and charisma required to succeed on the world's stage.

Frank K. Peterson,  
Toronto

Robert Lawton's article on Pierre Trudeau related to my having flunked the notion of restoring the death penalty. I did not do that. Rather, it was my suggestion that we consider a referendum on capital punishment. The vast majority of articulate Canadians who, in fact, opposed the death penalty had been sitting in the sidelines since its abolition, leaving the Liberals to carry the can alone.

Gisela Long  
Mississauga

I was taken aback at your love affair with our socialist pretender Pierre Trudeau. Particularly poignant was the comparison with John Kennedy, who not only lost a brother in the Second World War, but placed his life in harm's way as a U.S. naval officer, while Trudeau in contrast a white-fother civilian. Both these men, however, were great leaders who committed their respective citizenry into launching a landy horizon and speed were leading to a final goal. It would seem when people's agency can be used and shared even to the point of buying a legend.

D. Grant DeMa,  
Brimley, B.C.

Pierre Trudeau fits like an old shoe. He evokes a comfortable nostalgia that, in the shadow of time, seems to eradicate the infighting across he took in so many policy fields. Trudeau means good that Canadians are drawn to "star power" when in politics.

William C. Steiner  
Toronto

The stature of Trudeau is as vibrant among my generation as that of my parents ("Pierre who?"), for different reasons. We came of age politically during the 1960s, an age of ideological consciousness and some of the most dramatic decentralizing of power our nation has experienced. Younger Canadians are equally nostalgic for a prime minister who articulated and symbolized a united, social democratic Canada, who defended the interests of the federal government against individual provinces, who made it OK to be a nationalist. The perhaps cannot comprehend Trudeau's role in its sheer optimism and

## In praise of Atom

I just read "Atom's Oscar diary" (Times, April 6) and felt like I had gone on the adventure with him. I loved his acceptance speech, it was classy and to the point. What made me smile was Egge's observation of the self-proclaimed Americans do with such ease and that we Canadians find so hard to emulate. He was enjoying his well-earned praise, but keeping his head above the turbulent waters that came from him one glorious moment to the next. Yes, Egge, it can be a triumph for you and Canada both. Keep up the excellent work, and good on ya, eh?

Danielle Dore-Morris,  
Salmon Arm, B.C.

hope for the future, but it is for those issues we must stand and respect the man who inspired them a generation ago.

Cheryl Campbell  
London, Ont.

Your writer Joe Chelley thanks Gen Xers "have a different way of remembering the past," and he believes Pierre Trudeau and John Kennedy "were bigger on vision than they often were on the nuts and bolts of governance." Born in 1968, I qualify as a Gen Xer. I suppose. However, I remember the PTT years and some of the hype. In our way of remembering reality that different from that of our parents? As we wait for the next Trudeau, we can be a way of saying thank you for the vision? Do we need leaders with such vision? If there is no vision, the nuts and bolts of governance are pointless.

C. S. St. Amant  
Windsor, Ont.

## Famous monsters

According to Anthony Wilson Smith ("On a visit to the townships," Backstage, April 6), Mayor in Quebec's Eastern Townships is "a blond, muscularly built hippy," but I wonder if this is true. Mayor seemed to be the shore of Lake Mégantic, boasts the most-seen Canadian monster of modern times. Now I am excluding sometime area residents like Jacques Paré and Conrad Black. What I have in mind is Memphis, the monster of Lake Mégantic. From time to time, this upstart creature stalks and is spotted, rather as the monstrous Brian Monaghan did, close to what I call, Pierre Trudeau, another area resident. Hardly "blond!"

John Robert Calcutt  
Toronto

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## THE MAIL

### Debating euthanasia

It is puzzling that in year March 20 issue you published only one letter pointing out the possible improper IV insertion and detailing disgusting palliative care in the treatment of Paul Mills, while six letters appeared in defense of the Nancy Mitton and euthanasia ("Missing cure," March 20). Let us preview a future scenario of, heaven forbid, euthanasia become legal. It would begin with a committee of at least two physicians to review each case, to determine if there is a "necessity" and not just a convenience for ending a patient's life. In no time, a rubber stamp review would take place because of the time factor. Human life is being devalued in our society of death. Palliative care with limitless analgesics to eliminate pain for terminally ill patients is not being offered thus making illness out of our doctors who have been trained to save lives.

Marion LeBlond  
Ottawa

Does a doctor have a right to end a patient's life? I don't know. Does a patient have a right to decide when he or she has had enough suffering? Acrossing my life after suffering a horrible attack with cancer for 19 months, my father wanted to go to the hospital to

spend his last few days in painless resignation. He was told by our medical establishment this was possible now, with all the pain-management strategies available. Most of these strategies, however, are guided by physicians' fears of overreacting. Doctors who attended during my father's last three weeks of agony would not even listen to his pleas to increase his morphine. If my father had asked me to assist in ending his terrible agony, I would have. At least he would have been able to leave this world on his terms, not a misjudged bureaucracy's.

Sharon Gorman,  
Toronto Ont

### Canadian celebration

The 2009 Pan-American Games—to be held in Winnipeg from July 23 to Aug. 8—may very well be the "great celebration" needed to infuse Canadians with national pride. "Canada needs a great celebration," The Road Ahead, Feb. 23. Everyone involved with the '09 Games certainly believes this to be the case. Five thousand athletes from 42 nations will compete in 43 sports, making the '09 Games the third-largest multi-sport event ever held in North America, eclipsed only by the Summer Olympics

in Los Angeles and Atlanta. These Games have already had a wonderful effect on neutralizing the competitiveness in which many of the sports will be held, and are creating a great sense of pride in one's city, province and country.

Joely Riley,  
Chairman, Pan Am Games Society  
(July 2009) Inc.  
Windsor

### Curling in Canada

When you think of curling in Canada today, you think of the Sandra Schmirler rink of Regina ("Sweep strikes," Special Report, March 10). Margen Gudenka and Joan Cunkler, Jon Becker and Schmirler have combined to become the finest women's curling team ever. Although this rink has achieved success due to its skill and commitment as a unit, special mention must be made of skip Schmirler. She has accepted her leadership role and performed under pressure as an exceptional reason during her time in league's matches. Schmirler has also been a key reason for the growth of curling interest on television in Canada. Sandra Schmirler's discovery of recognition as Canada's pre-eminent female curler of the 20th century.

Jo Alex,  
Toronto

## THE MAIL

### 'A pejorative term'

Your file article on the corruption of Palestinian leadership is marred by the incorrect association of the word *fatasha* to Middle Easterning "bavard" ("Corrupting the dream," World, March 30). *Fatasha* comes from the Ethiopian Ge'ez language meaning "stranger." It was a pejorative term used by other Ethiopians to marginalize Ethiopian Jews.

Robb Hayes Allen  
Toronto

### Children and guns

"When children kill" (World, April 6) focused significantly on guns being a common part of American culture, with the usual silent fireworks gun control. Although guns have been a part of our rural culture for hundreds of years, their increasingly harmful use by children seems to be a more recent phenomenon. Because here, this gun issue is only a symptom is related to our society. Due to a lack of human rights protection, there are naturally fewer "bad" guys and lesbians in this province than in other places where I've lived. Because of that, many Albertans think they have never met a gay or lesbian person, and are naturally quick to feel fearful and against the recognition of their human rights. This vicious circle must stop.

The truth is, they do know (and may say we will love and respect) gay and lesbian people—they simply don't realize it. Another common misconception is that these rights will supersede religious rights. If—as in the case of Queen Victoria—being gay or lesbian is a Christian school—religious rights come in. Conflict with an individual's rights, the human rights commission would make a ruling based on that particular case. In my

Norman Moss,  
Monter Ont

### Miami blues

Your reference to me as a New York City artist dealer will leave potential artistic appreciation as a loss as to where to find me ("Disco to go," Opening Notes, Feb. 20). The Joy Moss Gallery is in Miami, and prior to moving here some 20 years ago, I was happily exhibiting the best of Canadian and international art in Montreal.

Joe Moss  
Miami



## The Road Ahead

### Sounding the alarm in Alberta

In the wake of the so-called "Wed" decision—the Supreme Court of Canada's decision in Alberta on April 2 that its human rights legislation must include protection against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation—I am saddened and alarmed by the level of fear and intolerance that seems to exist in my chosen home province of Alberta. When asked by gay and lesbian friends from across the country why I would choose to live in "red-neck" Alberta, I answer that it is a natural, beautiful place with wonderful, friendly people who are accepting that people think I'm beginning to wonder.

While I still believe that a silent majority of Albertans do support basic human rights protection for all citizens, I worry that the same tactics are being organized, right-wing Alberta are having a religious effect. Due to a lack of human rights protection, there are naturally fewer "bad" guys and lesbians in this province than in other places where I've lived. Because of that, many Albertans think they have never met a gay or lesbian person, and are naturally quick to feel fearful and against the recognition of their human rights. This vicious circle must stop.

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Steve Mulligan,  
Edmonton

opinion, the commission may have ruled against Mr. Wed but perhaps rightly so. But he still has the fundamental right to live his goodness here.

Finally, the fear has again been raised that by providing basic protection from discrimination to gay and lesbian people, we are somehow promoting homosexuality and threatening traditional families. I'm not quite sure how one "promotes" something which is, as nearly as we can determine, genetic and/or somehow unknowingly instilled in our children. I can tell you from personal experience that homosexuality is not a choice, nor is it a trend. It has always been around and will continue to exist, in approximately the same percentage of the population, for eternity.

As for the family, this court ruling will have the following effects: all lower of our people are going to be more secure. They won't feel as much government-sanctioned contempt by society, and it will be men, women and children will find themselves in damaged families after a parent finally admits to having married out of fear of his or her true sexual orientation.

By providing this protection we are simply removing a few people's lives in a happier and easier. It's not hard to create a better world. It can be done in the province of Alberta right now, through the kind of leadership Premier Ralph Klein showed last week in accepting the court's decision. It will also require education and understanding. Without them, the cycle of ignorance will continue.

The Road Ahead feature strives to present quality information on Canada's political, social and economic problems. Unsolicited contributions may be considered for regular issues or appear in an electronic online issue.

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# Opening Notes

Edited by TANYA DAVIES

## A singer covers all the bases

If Celine Dion can break into men's major leagues by singing national anthems at baseball stadiums, why not Kirsten Scott? The 28-year-old marketing consultant-turned-singer started her odyssey to sing the anthems in every National and American League baseball stadium last summer, after she sang at the SkyDome in her home city of Toronto. "I was so fired up after that performance," says Scott, who has had only a small amount of professional voice training. "I thought, Why don't I just do one more stadium?" After that, there was no turning back. Scott used her marketing skills to secure sponsors (Chrysler offered her a Jeep for the season), her persistence to get stadium gigs, and \$300,000 of her savings to cover travel costs. After she opens games in mid-June for the Expos, teams the Arizona Diamondbacks and Tampa Bay Devil Rays. Scott's tour will be officially over, making her the first person to sing in all the stadiums. Not content to rest on her laurels and wait for a recording deal, Scott has already planned her next southern excursion—the CFL for this summer. "I love baseball, football, basketball, hockey," she says. "I want to do them all."



Scott, performing in every stadium

## Bureaucrats' bilingual blues

Unfiling federal deputy ministers are signing in relief over the news that they will not have to train Canadians after official language laws that for many officials have lost their luster, the news is not as good—here's the second language you could lose your job. In early May, the Treasury Board will make an official announcement explaining the new guidelines. This follows the federal government's announcement to implement a policy set 10 years ago by the Mulroney government to provide fully bilingual service in New Brunswick and parts of Ontario and Quebec. Embarrassed by the lack of bilingual fluency, the government now requires that 3,300 senior officials be bilingual by the year 2001.

But the exemption of deputy ministers has prompted harsh criticism. Michel Rucquard, minister for the Commissioner of Official Languages, has repeatedly complained to the government about unwilling bilingualists.



Michelle, the new policy is better and a live-wire

and new laws that selective bilingualism will create barriers that will be the civil service. "The message must come down from the top," says Rucquard. Meanwhile, Val Morello, Reform MP for the B.C. riding of Surrey/White Rock/Langley and a vocal critic of official bilingualism, feels for those at the middle level. "No matter how you look at it, it is unfair," says Morello, who argues that bureaucrats have better things to do with their time. "More old regulations surely rest one of them." But for many, it is now a must.

## Tuning in to station L-O-V-E

It was a novel idea for a contest. The staff at Daybreak, CBC Radio's morning show in Montreal, recently asked the audience to create a nine-chapter romance novel called *A Spring in Avenue-ber*. The only guidelines were that listeners had to include the numbers representing the station's new position on the FM dial—88.5—on each installment.

For nine days, up to 20 listeners called in with 30-second proposals, and the station picked a winner each day. The sign was with Cassandre, a 36-year-old assistant editor for L'Espresso, the "well-heeled" literary student who cleared the 88 (many participants dropped the 5) lines that fell from her toes during January's ice storms. "They were a creative bunch of listeners," says Daybreak executive producer Kirk Douglas. "That was the funniest thing we've ever done." How did it end? Well, in spite of the first chapter's promise of romance, L'Espresso lost out to Cassandre's longest wait. So far, there are no offers for the movie rights.

## O.J., the pariah of L.A.



Simpson shunned by neighbors

O.J. Simpson has become persona non grata in the exclusive west side of Los Angeles. Ever since he was found liable in his 1997 civil trial for the battery and death of, respectively, Nicole Brown Simpson and her friend Ronald Goldman, Simpson has been an outcast in the community he once called home. Already shunned by his neighbors in North Hollywood in Longwood, Simpson was forced to move after the bank foreclosed on his house. He relocated to a private gated community in nearby Pacific Palisades eight months ago. His membership at the elite Riviera Country Club was cancelled for mismanagement, and when he plays golf at a public course, many people refuse to play with him. He has difficulty getting restaurant reservations, and when he does

know I was trying to get your attention" and she replied, "No, and I don't want it." She landed a complaint with the hotel—not the first against Simpson. "People I've met in L.A. just want him to leave," says the housewife. "Even his neighbor has left him." In L.A., that is a fate worse than death.

show up, many other guests leave.

The pretty Heidi Bell, 40, has also had problems with Simpson. A Los Angeles housewife, who prefers to remain anonymous, recently witnessed an encounter in the hotel bar between the 50-year-old ex-football star and a young woman. "This woman was sitting with her friends, and O.J. was sitting behind her," he says. "Simpson was persistent in trying to get her close to her chair in her bar position. When the woman got up to change chairs, O.J. said, 'Didn't you

## Passages



DIED: First lady of country music

**Tanya Wynette**, 55, from a blood clot in her lung in Nashville, Tenn. Wynette went from a childhood of poverty cotton in Mississippi to recording more than 50 albums, which have sold more than 30 million copies worldwide. She is best known for her 1968 hit *Stand by Your Man*.

**DIED:** Colorful newspaper columnist and former Montreal city councillor **Nick Ait**

**Nick Ait**, 55, of cancer, in Montreal (page 9) his vibrant political activities got him elected to the Ontario House of Commons in 1970, and a federal Conservative nomination in the '80s, but he was known as the best ambassador Montreal ever had. As a city councillor he exposed the mismanagement of the 1976 Montreal Olympics.

**DIED:** Creator of the revolutionary

clip-typer slide, **Herb Lub** was **Herb Lub**, 53, in Amsterdam. The science professor designed the hinged slide in 1903, but it was only in the past two years that slides, including Sander's *Culture* *Lub* slide, have sold, and broken world records setting his innovation.

**DIED:** Dressed as **Paul Priddy**, 32,

of an alcohol and pill overdose, in a Frankfurt hotel room. **Philly and Talia** **Moran**—who together were known as **Miki Vandy**—were stopped by their 1989 **Miki Vandy** Grammy Award after it was revealed that the duo's singing was on the album, but were by performing to vocals provided by other performers.

**ARRESTED:** Pop star **George Michael**, 34,

on a charge of committing a level 1 act after a peek in his bedroom, in Beverly Hills, Calif., a female singer, **Proenza of Wales**, sold more than 10 million copies of his first, 1987 solo album, *Faith*. He was released on \$750 bail.

**RETIRING:** Olympic gold medal figure

skater **Tara Lipinski**, 15, an amateur, in Baltimore. Lipinski will turn professional, and says she wants to spend more time with her family.

**BORN:** Daughter **Para Michael**, 39,

to parents **Michael Jackson**, 39, and **Debbie Rowe Jackson**, 38, in Beverly Hills. The eccentric singer and his nurse wife already have a one-year-old son, **Prince**.

## Brainwaves for sale

As one Montreal-based business is getting another working overtime, BrainBlock Inc., the creation of Andre Laurin and Korel Ste-Marie, works as a meddler, negotiating rewards for people who come up with cost-saving suggestions for their employers. Since setting up a Montreal-based brain block company five months ago, Laurin, 36, and Ste-Marie, 34, have received 25 money-saving tips from workers so far away in Chicago and Florida. So far, BrainBlock has won 19 proposals for employers from their companies including \$30,700 for a landfill operator from California who suggested that his company could save on cleanup costs by simply shutting off the lights at night in the workhouse. "I turned the company around \$44,000 a year," says Laurin. And a senior banker from Kansas got the biggest reward so far, more than \$42,000 from his company for suggesting that they improve scheduling by using a specific music.

Laurin and Ste-Marie start negotiations by sending a letter to a company indicating that one of its employees has come up with an idea that will save a specific amount of money. Before sharing the tip, BrainBlock asks the business to sign an agreement to pay the employee if they like the idea. The deal, called "brainblock," says Laurin, who adds that some employers think the idea should be free. With BrainBlock getting a 12.5 percent cut of each reward, it will be hard for the partners to find an idea as ingenious as the one that launched their company in the first place.

## BEST-SELLERS

### FICITION

1. The Secret Garden, by Frances Hodgson Burnett
2. Silver Linings, by Douglas Coupland
3. Profiler, by John Grisham
4. A Christmas Carol, by Charles Dickens
5. The Hobbit, by J.R.R. Tolkien
6. The Hobbit, by J.R.R. Tolkien
7. The Hobbit, by J.R.R. Tolkien
8. The Hobbit, by J.R.R. Tolkien
9. The Hobbit, by J.R.R. Tolkien
10. The Hobbit, by J.R.R. Tolkien

### NON-FICTION

1. The Gift of the Magi, by Thomas Mann
2. The Gift of the Magi, by Thomas Mann
3. The Gift of the Magi, by Thomas Mann
4. The Gift of the Magi, by Thomas Mann
5. The Gift of the Magi, by Thomas Mann
6. The Gift of the Magi, by Thomas Mann
7. The Gift of the Magi, by Thomas Mann
8. The Gift of the Magi, by Thomas Mann
9. The Gift of the Magi, by Thomas Mann
10. The Gift of the Magi, by Thomas Mann

## A saga of fire and ice

### EDGE OF GLORY

Sports reporter Christine Smith provides an intimate look at the world of elite figure skaters in her latest book, *Edge of Glory: The Inside Story of the Quest for Figure Skating's Olympic Gold*. Smith's Olympic Gold is the drama that unfolds as the world's best skaters prepare to battle at the Nagano Winter Olympics.

Readers get a rare look inside the drama that unfolds as the world's best skaters prepare to battle at the Nagano Winter Olympics.



# Citizens' revolt

BY JOHN GEDDES

**A**s a middle-aged pensioner expert in the Toronto office of the international consulting firm Williams M. Mercer Ltd., Malcolm Hamilton is an unlikely political firebrand. But put him in front of a crowd of Canadians who take their money seriously, such as the conference of real estate agents he recently spoke to in Ottawa, and Hamilton generates the sort of outrage that realises governments' weakness. His message: Ottawa is making it tougher for you to save for retirement. When he put a chart on his overhead projector showing how much less the proposed federal Seniors Benefit would leave in the wallets of a middle-class, retired couple, some realtors in the hotel ballroom audibly gasped. The system, he argues, is simply not designed to reward hard work and diligent saving. "The government is saying, 'You save, we'll take benefits away,'" he told his rapt audience. "And you are supposed to say, 'Then I guess I'll save more.'"

Hamilton has been at the forefront of a two-year insurgency, waged by a broad coalition ranging from insurers to stockholders, against the Seniors Benefit—which will replace current Old Age Security and Guaranteed Income Supplement programs with a single payment. Within the next few weeks, Finance Minister Paul Martin is expected to announce key changes to the proposal—revisions that could amount to a victory for opponents of the benefit, or spur them to launch an even more determined campaign to kill the scheme. Some observers see in Martin's list to come to terms with the quiet but persistent lobby against the plan a sign that Ottawa's outlook is changing. "The orientation of the government has been very strongly towards relief for low-income taxpayers," says Denis Slater, a former chairman of the Economic Council of Canada and a vocal critic of the Seniors Benefit. "Now, I think they are getting to the point where they hear the middle class beginning to rattle a little bit—to say the least."

That rattle grew out of scarcely a murmur back when Martin announced the new scheme in his 1995 budget. The plan was to boost support for low-income seniors while giving less to rich retirees. Since the change would not take effect until Jan. 1, 1997, and anyone who turned 60 before the end of 1995 could opt to stay with the QAS and GIS package, the response was muted. The plan avoided riling today's



Martin with Denis, retirees could amount to a victory for opponents of the benefit—or spur them to launch an even more determined campaign to kill the scheme

seniors, whose political power has been feared by federal politicians ever since Brian Mulroney was accused into backing off from pension reform in a dramatic confrontation with Jacques Desros, then O.C. in 1985. But if the Liberals knew enough to steer clear of another clash with the nation's grandmothers, they may have underestimated

the tenacity of those—like Hamilton—who make a living helping the next generation of seniors plan for retirement.

Retirement experts figured out soon after the 1994 budget that the new benefit would cost many middle-income seniors thousands—and Ottawa found it hard to fight on its home turf. Since early last year, the Retirement Income Coalition, an umbrella group of 21 organizations ranging from the Investment Dealers' Association and the Canadian Teachers' Federation to the Canadian Association of Retired Persons, has been meeting with Martin and his officials to press for change. Blow for the Liberals are willing to retreat to placate the coalition remains to be seen. "As a government, we are still committed to the initial thrust of the benefit, which is to target benefits to lower-income Canadians," Martin's parliamentary secretary, Ontario M.P. Tony Valeri, told Maclean's. "The real challenge is making sure that middle-income Canadians still feel they can save for retirement."

Figuring out how the new Seniors Benefit would work involves a fair amount of arithmetic. The new system will give a maximum \$13,430 tax-free annual payment to a single senior with no other income and \$13,449 to an elderly couple in the same circumstances. Otherwise, most seniors have other pensions—including the Canada Pension Plan—and savings depending on how much, the benefit will be clawed back before it is paid out. For example, a couple with a modest \$25,000 in other income before taxes would get \$13,430 with the benefit shrinking to a payment of just \$1,516 for a couple with a healthy \$75,000 in other pension income. In rough figures, single seniors and retired couples with total pre-tax incomes up to about \$40,000 will get as much or more as they would under the

QAS and GIS. But those with incomes over \$45,000 would get less from Ottawa than under the current system, with the benefit disappearing entirely for single seniors with incomes of \$52,000 or better and couples whose combined incomes are above \$75,000.

The government pretends to have the best of both worlds in its standstill program, that critics say the new tests are how it compares with the package of support it replaces and how it works in combination with income taxes. The new benefit is to be reduced—or clawed back—more aggressively than the current GIS and OAS payments. One study, by the Canadian Real Estate Association, estimates that while a senior couple with a modest \$26,000 in other retirement income would be \$550 ahead under the new benefit, a couple with \$56,000 would get \$1,000 less.

The same study looked at the benefit along with income taxes—treating the clawback as just another form of tax. One example: a retired couple with pre-tax income of \$26,000 from a private pension, RRSPs and the CPP pays more than \$24,000 in taxes. The same couple's Seniors Benefit payment would be \$4,510—less than they would be eligible for if they had less other income. The clawback that reduced their benefit, combined with regular income tax, effectively puts them in a 66 per cent tax bracket—much steeper than the 26 per cent combined marginal tax rate and clawback they would pay under the current system. For a couple making \$70,000, the combined rate on the benefit clawback would, in essence, put them in the 69 per cent bracket, compared with the 44-per-cent marginal rate they pay under the current system.

Hamilton objects to letting the combined tax and clawback claw back more than 50 per cent for anyone—no matter how prosperous. "The hard trade-offs are on that marginal rate issue," he says. "The question is, 'How much better off should those who have saved be than those who did not save or saved very little?'" The government has predicted that rate—and decided that the Seniors Benefit as it is designed would drop the rate much less than Canadians who have planned well for their retirements. "We're going to make changes that reflect what the consultations told us," Valeri said. "And some of what they told us is that the clawback rate maybe is a disincentive to middle-income Canadians to put money aside." As well, he said, the government could delay implementing the new benefit beyond 2001 to give people more time to plan their finances around the new system.

Those changes may not be enough to satisfy some of the Retirement Income Coalition's members. Up to now, the group, whose organizational support comes from Association House, a lobbying firm with high-level Liberal ties, has consulted closely with the finance department. But coalition chairman Charles Finkelstein, who represents an insurance underwriters group, says that the comfortable relationship with Finance could have more confrontation if the retirement appeal is to mere say. "If there are no real changes," he said in an interview, "I would say that a large number of people will get very active."

Keeping the coalition contented could pay political dividends beyond the current debate. Belcher and the group intend to stick together to pressure Ottawa in the next big policy thrust—in the tentative roll-back of savings plan and registered pension plan rules. A review of these federal tax incentives for private saving is expected to come in this mandate of the Liberal government, building on last year's reform of the Canada Pension Plan and the introduction of the new benefit. At issue would be demands to raise the current 30 per cent maximum on foreign investments in RRSPs and boost the annual allowed contribution. And with RRSPs' dominating the investment aspirations of millions of Canadians, that debate could make the battle over the Seniors Benefit look like a minor squall. □

## SQUEEZING THE ELDERLY

The Seniors Benefit, the centerpiece of Finance Minister Paul Martin's 1995 budget, has been under sustained attack by critics decriing its clawback provisions. When it replaces the present Old Age Security in 2001, the new program will provide more money for lower-income seniors while greatly reducing benefits for those better off. And financial support will be eliminated entirely at a much lower income level—\$78,000 for a couple—than at present. Total income for seniors couples after taxes and benefit clawback under the current and proposed programs.

Other Retirement Income	Present Old Age Security	Proposed Seniors Benefit	Change
\$20,000	\$28,035	\$26,594	+\$559
30,000	35,554	35,094	-460
40,000	42,570	40,510	-2,460
50,000	50,066	45,926	-4,139
60,000	58,520	51,230	-4,890
70,000	61,774	55,278	-6,496



# The positive Tory

BY BRUCE WALLACE

People just expect Hugh Segal to be funny. He made his national reputation as a political pundit, firing zingers in defence of Tories and Tory policies from a couch on morning television. Even casual acquaintances greet him as "Hughie," and in polished circles, his off-the-cuff backslapping style has given him a reputation as "The Happy Warrior." The truth is the fact that people seem to assume Segal is a simply witty and jovial byproduct of his

own. Like anyone else, Segal can bog down in the goo of a written text, jokes are his escape. His delight as a Tory candidate in the 1972 and 1975 federal elections were a case of "25,000 people personally telling me to stay out of public life," he told the crowd. Everyone chuckled. And then, "I want to insure you I am not a member of any significant political party." The pause was perfect. "I am a federal Progressive Conservative."

No laughing matter that. The federal Tories are hurting. A fifth place party. A mere 39 MPs, none west of Brandon. A 50th place party in the house. And since last month, when Jean Charest jumped to Quebec politics, no leader. It is a vacancy Segal believes he is best-suited to fill, although officially he is still only "consulting," the notion: "No, it's not a middle crisis that's driving me,"

laughed the 47-year-old Segal one afternoon last week, pushing back his chair in the 40th floor boardroom of Toronto investment consultants Gluskin Sheff, where he works part time. "I have a stress it's called Tory Posture. It is intrinsically optimistic about the party, and it believes the party is in a time-part of keeping the country together."

The list of "regulatory" calls Segal has to return on this afternoon stretches into the dozens. Few in the party can compete with the connections he has made over a lifetime as Tory policies—he has spoken before than 100 major associations in the past five years alone. Charest never regarded those energetic activities as part of a plot against his leadership, but Segal's ambitions for the top Tory job and a run at becoming prime minister are hardly a secret in high Tory circles.

His wife, Dorcas, makes this a something Segal like me have to get out of their system," he recently told a friend who asked if his family wanted him to enter the race (the couple have one daughter, Jacqueline, 19). As recently as February, with Charest seemingly in place for the foreseeable future, Segal was mourning desperately to the idea that he had no chance to run for the job himself, never mind.

Charest's departure changed all that. Segal had in an embryonic campaign team in place almost instantly for the contest that will run between now and a vote sometime this fall. That makes him the early front-runner, a homecoming situation to the extent that wants to take the Tories hard to the right in order to woo back Reform voters. To them, Segal personifies Red Toryism, that "high right" philosophy that is still added to his powers as an Ottawa and can't step itself from entering to Quebec's constitutional whitening. They gleam that Segal is stoked by his association with Brian Mulroney, the son of Mulroney's chief of staff for the former prime minister's last, dismal 30 months in office. And they suggest he is trying to do the near impossible: come out of the backrooms into the eye of electoral politics.

So the search for a candidate to beat Segal began as soon as it became apparent that Charest was headed for Quebec. It is led from the shadows by longtime Tory benefactor Peter White, a business partner of newspaper titan Conrad Black. White quit as head of the Tories' fundraising operations in December, selling out frustration over what he felt was Charest's wet left hand of conservatism and refusal to take a hard line on Quebec. To White, a Segal-led party would put present means of the same. White's first choice to replace Charest was Alberta Premier Ralph Klein and, when that approach failed, he turned his order to wards former Alberta treasurer Jim Denison, who is now an executive with TransAlta Corp. in Calgary. With Segal's help, a former Reform MP, having withdrawn his name from consideration, the shunning bid is down to neoconservative columnist David Brunson, and former Manitoba cabinet minister Brian Pallister.

Segal may not know who he will be up against but he knows exactly where his stakeholders will take aim. A 30-year career in public health research and a record to defend. The Mulroney era may be the easiest to deflect. Segal does not duck mentioning Mulroney by name—he just will not use it in a sentence that does not include Robert Stanfield and Bill Davis, the two other Tory leaders he served. "Most were perfect, a privilege to work for all three," he says. (The back pocket of his 1987 book attacking neoconservative values, *Beyond Good*, noted only that Segal had "been chief of staff to the greatest of men, the greatest of nations.")

Segal handles the more substantive accusations—that he is too fervently conservative on economic issues—by taking an aggressive stance on fiscal conservatism. He sounded a neoconservative motion from the party's young wing at the Tories' last pre-election party convention. And he now couples a message of the core with fear mongering suggestions that the Liberals are about to embark on an old-fashioned spending spree. Combined with his more accommodating instincts towards Quebec, Segal calls his platform "balanced conservatism," and he is hoping it will bury Jim Red Tory led.

It is easy to change policies, harder to doctor an image. "It is not impossible to overcome, but it is very difficult to change the mind set that you are a backroom wheeler-dealer," says Tom Awerbuch, who was principal secretary to prime minister Pierre Trudeau in the early 1980s and who also flirted with the idea of running for the Liberal house on. Many Tories are also skeptical about Segal's abil-

ity to duck his Red Tory past. "I believe Hugh is a fiscal conservative at heart," said one Ontario Tory loyal to Premier Mike Harris. "But he is going to take the beating for all Red Tories from right-wingers who want to change this party."

Yet the infamous Segal has a great advantage over any real, especially one trying to make the jump from provincial politics to the West to the federal level. The best-of-both-worlds will be fought on the same basis as a general election, each of the 301 ridings carries exactly the same voting weight. There are no party delegates, no caucus clubs, no party hacks getting a vote on an official ticket. Red tags where Tories are barely organized (pick just about any riding in Saskatchewan) have the same clout as a suburban Toronto riding with hundreds of members.

The mathematics of that system favor a candidate with the organizational clout to establish a presence in most ridings. It also means Segal might be able to win the leadership on a platform appealing largely to Tories in the 210 ridings east of the Ontario-Manitoba border, where ultra-conservative politics have far less appeal. And if it comes down to Segal's bid to attack the Mulroney party rather than staying up to it as more right-wing Tories are saying.

"Reform built their organization on anger," says Segal. "If you are going to be for the rest of the country, you don't turn your back on people who are poor through no fault of their own, on people who are different, on new immigrants who want to build a country made strong by immigrants. If you reach out only to the winners, you will be preaching to a very small congregation."

His leadership ambitions, he says, are driven "less as a matter of ego than this age." If so, it is a duty he has sought to discharge since he was a preteen in Montreal. Segal looks back that he became a Tory after John Diefenbaker delivered a speech denouncing the Canadian Bill of Rights at Segal's school. In fact, the then 13-year-old was already hooked on the Chert. As a child, he wrote "to both the Liberal and Liberal leader Lester Pearson, they did respond, and the impression left by that reply has never faded."

Segal left Montreal for the University of Ottawa in 1968, where he was twice elected to the student government. Current health minister Allan Rock was president that first year and Rock has dined out for years on the tale of bringing John Lennon and Yoko Ono to Ottawa to meet former prime minister Pierre Trudeau after their 1969 Montreal hotel for peace. Segal was rooming at the hotel in 1969 and often saw the couple. "I was in the room with them," he says with a laugh. And while the couple and Trudeau charmed, Segal stood outside, looking after Lennon on St. Julien.

The post at the University of Ottawa was the only elected office he ever won. Segal ran for the Toronto for the first time in 1977 at age 21, chaired by his grandfather—a Russian-born tailor who had helped found a workshop union in Montreal—after running for the "Tories" party. His grandfather was the son of a Russian immigrant who arrived in Ontario. Hugh Paulin built his first home and began in 1974. That is where his career in senior politics began, mixed with status as an advertising executive in the private sector. In 1980, he briefly considered running for the post-Mulroney leadership, backing away when it became clear that Kim Campbell's early lead was too big.

Now he is ready to run. If enough, he says for the exhausting trial of a leadership race ("I have low blood pressure"). Segal is so steeped in Toryism that he lives in Hillcrest House, the 19th-century Kingston home of Alexander Campbell, who served John A. Macdonald as Ontario's campaign manager. He bought it when it was in shambles and had it restored. "These are things that only survive because people tend to them," he says. But would he have bought a piece of Liberal heritage to preserve, say, the office of Wilfrid Laurier's old house? "No," Segal answers curtly. "That's the enemy." And then he laughs, his body jiggling. If he is going to have his last thing, it

# The suicide watch

## Three deaths leave experts groping for answers

It is the darkest thought to cross the mind of a parent worried about a troubled teenager: suicide. In North Bay, Ont., three deaths in less than two months turned this usually anguished fear into a reality. Last October, a 16-year-old girl died when she was hit by a train in what police say might have been a suicide, but could also have been a suicide. Less than two months later, another girl, a friend of the first, hanged herself. Shock quickly turned to speculation that several high-achieving students might have entered into some sort of deadly pact. Then, last month, a third death seemed to lend credibility to that chilling rumor: another friend of the second girl to die also killed herself by hanging. Those left behind cannot be sure the chain of loss has ended. "I worry about my friends every day," says Pam Tremblay, 17, who knew all three of the dead girls well. "I don't really know who's taking what, but I don't think anyone is stupid enough to make us go through it again."

That blunt assessment is what parents and optimists among the young people most directly touched by the suicides. Tremblay is one of perhaps a dozen girls, most of them students at Waddfield Secondary School, who were close to the three who died. They angrily dismiss any suggestion that a suicide pact ever existed and also insist that the first death was accidental. A few members of the tight-knit group have rejected pleas to accept counselling, preferring to lean on each other for support. And as the adolescents share meals, social networks and child psychologists are left groping for answers and wondering if they have done enough. Some are troubled by guilt over the possibility that they might have intervened to prevent the second and third deaths. "Everybody asks, 'What did I do wrong?'" says Jean Paul Larocque, director of North Bay's Nipissing Children's Mental Health Services agency. "It's a natural question, even if nobody did anything wrong. This is stressful, frightening work."

Anxiety has gripped parents as well as professionals in the city of 55,000 on the shore of Lake Nipissing, 300 km north of Toronto. After the first death, several well-meaning mothers who had known the girl began meeting regularly to talk about their kids. Their long-run chats have taken on a new intensity after the second and third deaths. Grieving daughters sometimes congregate along with troubled

adolescents at social agencies in the process of co-writing a "protocol"—a guidebook of sorts for how to predict and prevent youth suicides, and how to counsel young people coping with the death of a peer. The violated ease for such planning is persuasive. While clusters of suicides like those that stricken North Bay are rare, suicide ranks second as a killer of young people in Canada—after accidental deaths including car crashes—and appears to be rising. The rate of suicide among children and teens was consistently well below that of adults until the early 1990s, when it began climbing to near the adult rate. By 1996, the latest figures available, 25 out of every 100,000 Canadians between 15 and 24 years old committed suicide, up from fewer than 10 suicides in 100,000 two decades earlier. Over the same period, the suicide rate for Canadians 25 to 34 actually fell from 18 to 100,000 to just under 17.

Experts say preventing the deaths behind these numbers means finding ways to persuade young people—many of them often intensely private—to open up to adults offering help. "Teenagers tend to talk to each other before they talk to adults," says Ester Cole, a Toronto-based psychologist whose work includes suicide prevention among children and adolescents. She urges high schools to teach students, as part of wider suicide-prevention training, not to feel bound to keep information about a depressed friend secret. "Let the metaphor of tight-lipped loyalty among the young be lifted," Larocque suspects that in North Bay even some adults were touched by the notion of troubled kids trying to take care of each other. Not him. "A 15-year-old taking responsibility for keeping somebody else alive?" Larocque would "Cope on."

Parents looking to governments for more expert help on the problem of suicide may have grounds for hope. Harrington and Health Canada has asked for centre to start work on a possible federal suicide-prevention strategy, one that would eventually be of provincial co-operation. But that work is in its earliest stages. And it seems distant from the immediate preoccupations of Pam Tremblay and her friends. "Everyone got stuck on the suicide pact idea," she says, "more than they worried about how we felt." But she is quick to back away from any hint of blaming for an demanding or help from the victims of adults. "People are so cruel," she adds, glancing around at a solemn-faced group of her friends. "We take care of each other."

JOHN GEDDES in North Bay



Tremblay at Waddfield school: "We take care of each other."

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JOHN GEDDES in North Bay



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An RCMP immigration task force is holding a 32-year-old Sikh refugee as a suspected terrorist. Citing national security legislation, authorities have not disclosed the evidence they have against Iqbal Singh, who was arrested in Toronto on April 2. His lawyer, Mendel Green, said the Canadian Security Intelligence Service has pressured Singh to act as an informant.

Premier Lucien Bouchard responded to pressure from Parti Québécois hardliners by reaffirming the party's commitment to a referendum vote after the next election. In March, high-pollster showing most voters do not want another referendum, Bouchard said he would not hold the vote unless victory was certain.

Robbers ambushed armored car guards on two successive nights in Toronto. On April 7, three men armed with rifles escaped with more than \$400,000 after surprising guards stocking a bank machine. The next night, two men attempted a similar robbery, shooting at guards as they left their van, slightly wounding one. When the guards returned fire, the robbers fled without any cash.

The Reform party threatened to sue Pihl for defamation after the grand chief of the Assembly of First Nations accused it of "racism of the worst kind." The native leader was responding to the party's attack on accounting inequalities on one reserve.

Outraged constituents began a campaign to recall Perkowski/Qualicum MLA Paul Polansky. On April 1, Polansky was expelled from the Liberal caucus for sending a letter—signed with a false name—to a newspaper praising himself. He has since admitted to writing at least 16 other phony letters.

The Supreme Court decided a Mormon woman's privacy was violated in 1995 when, without her consent, a photographer took her picture and published it. Lawyers were uncertain what effect the judgment might have on journalists elsewhere in Canada.

The debate was, by all accounts, stormy. But when members of Alberta's Conservative government emerged from a caucus meeting last week, Premier Ralph Klein announced that he would not invoke the notwithstanding clause against the controversial April 3 Supreme Court of Canada ruling that extended protection to gays and lesbians under the province's individual and

The government now proposes launching a campaign to educate Albertans about the transgressions of the Supreme Court ruling. Klein last week characterized it as "a very narrow defense."



against the court ruling. "I think people need the right to say no, for instance, to sex-education programs that include homosexual material."

Conservatives were also roused that Klein, by not standing up to the Supreme Court, had alienated those conservative supporters of his party. Some critics suggested that the issue could lead to a rebirth of the once-powerful Social Credit party or pave the way for the Reform party's entry into provincial politics. Klein, certainly, did not appear to be underestimating the uproar as he asked Albertans, heading into the Easter weekend, to "take this special time to really reflect on what it means to be tolerant and to provide people with dignity."

## A verdict for Reno Vanier

A \$10,000 fine, a demotion to lieutenant-colonel—but no discharge. That was the decision of a military jury in the court-martial of Col. Rene Vernez, 43, who faced

bravery and fraud-related charges stemming from his time as commander of Canadian peacekeepers in Haiti in 1996. Among other things, the jury found him guilty of taking a \$2,000 bribe from a firm company that dealt extensively with the Canadian military, and submitting false expense claims. Weng, who indicated

he would end his 30-year military career, also pleaded guilty to a charge of being absent without leave, which arose out of his 12-day disappearance last June from his duties from a ship that was finally found floating in the Indian River. Because of the guilty plea, details about that incident did not emerge at the court martial.

## Assessing Northern Ireland's historic pact

BY RAE CORRELL

For 30 years, it had been an unwelcome religious war of endless reprisals, fuelled by hate and hopelessness. Protestant and Catholic inextricably linked, machine-gunned, gassed and tortured one another, killing and maiming hundreds of bystanders in the process, and adding the Falls Road, Shankill, Enniskillen and Belfast to history's chronicle of blood-soaked brutality. "The Troubles," the Irish of every persuasion called it euphemistically. But it was merciless urban guerrilla warfare waged by men and boys in balloons, and with the death toll at more than 3,000, there seemed no end in sight. Then, on Good Friday last week after 12 months of negotiation, Northern Ireland's political leaders and the British and Irish governments announced they had reached a landmark deal to end the conflict. It went far beyond anything contemplated before, including a governing role for the Irish republic, disarmament of the warring sides and the first parliament for Northern Ireland since a power-sharing deal failed in 1974. "I believe today that courage has triumphed," said British Prime Minister Tony Blair, who played a major role in brokering the agreement along with Irish Prime Minister Bertie Ahern and former U.S. senator George Mitchell, chairman of the negotiations. "We have seized the initiative from the men of violence."



## Real peace at last?

declared Ahern. "Let's not relinquish it, now or ever."

Yet while the leaders of the Catholic Sinn Féin, perennial foe of the Irish Republican Army, and of the Protestant, pro-British Ulster Unionists endorsed the agreement, a lasting peace for Northern Ireland's 1.6 million people is far from assured. Ahern said the pact was "a new beginning for all of us," but the odds he had helped bring together were less than even. Unionist leader David Trimble emerged from the first session at Stormont Castle, headquarters of British administration in Belfast, to challenge Sinn Féin to end its "dirty, squishy little terrorism." Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams, who has achieved peace status among Northern Irish Catholics, was more restrained. "There is still not peace; the agreement is not a settlement," he said. "But for now, it is time to draw a breath, it is time to reflect." As Irish nationalists debate the deal before formally accepting it, he said, "they will come to this document with skepticism, but also with hope." Lord John Hume, leader of the non-sectarian Alliance party, said the agreement was "a political settlement. Whether it's a peace settlement remains to be seen."

Born before the document was approved, Hume and on both sides are accusing their side of selling out. At one point, Rev Ian Paisley, the 70-year-old Protestant firebrand who has accused the Unionists of betrayal, broke through the Stormont Castle gates with about 600 supporters waving the British flag and shouting "No surrender!" They were stopped by riot police and guard dogs. Sources in Belfast said the Loyalist Volunteer Force,

Adams (left) and Blair to the northmen, the deal was a relief



believed to have been responsible for the murder of a dozen Catholics in the past year, had already rejected the Stormont accord.

At the same time, two factions have broken away from the IRA. One group is believed to have been behind a recent attempt to take a 500-year-old bridge onto a ferry jumping to leave for England. The other, calling itself Continuity IRA, has announced fresh campaigns of violence. And both the British and Irish governments fear the push for peace could heighten hostilities in some quarters. But for the moment, the stage managers of last week's drama were upbeat. "I have been in politics for 30 years and never have I felt this sense of gratitude," said Mitchell, a former senator from Maine. He gave significant credit to U.S. President Bill Clinton, who made a bold-face call to Mitchell in 1995 in Washington from a Good Friday, about nine hours before the deal was done. Clinton was later vague about any plotlines he laid out, but the pact's supporters here will say Northern Ireland soon. Mitchell also said a Thursday midnight deadline, missed by 12 hours, was essential. "We would have been talking for 10 more years if we hadn't set the deadline."

The agreement, crafted to preserve Ulster's links with Britain while forging closer ties with the South, will put to referendum on May 22 in both Northern Ireland and the Irish republic. Among other things, it promotes for the creation of a 108-seat Northern Ireland Assembly to which members will be elected in June. Measures proposed in the assembly will need 70 per cent support to pass, protecting Catholics from bloc voting by Protestants who outnumber them two to one in the population and will likely outnumber them in the assembly as well.

In addition, there will be a North-South Council composed of members from the republic and representatives from the assembly to make policy in areas of common interest such as agriculture and transport infrastructure. But in a key last-minute concession to Protestants, who feared the council could lead to the IRA's dream of a united

Ireland, decisions will be subject to the approval of the Northern Ireland Assembly and the Irish Parliament. The republic's referendum, meanwhile, will also seek approval to abandon Dublin's long-standing territorial claim to the North. Mitchell said outstanding issues such as prisoners and policing would be handled fairly. John White, a former loyalist guerrilla and a delegate to the talks from one of the smaller unionist parties, said fast-track paramilitary prisoners on both sides would strengthen the chances for lasting peace. "Releasing the prisoners," White said, "will give both loyalists and republicans a stake in the process."

If voters in the North and the South endorse the agreement, a three-member commission headed by retired Canadian general John de Chastelain, former chief of the defense staff, will begin the delicate task of collecting and disposing of thousands of weapons held by paramilitary groups. De Chastelain, who had participated in attempts to get the peace talks moving since 1995, said Mitchell was not sure which arms would cooperate. "Clearly there are some who don't want to give up their guns, but we know that," added de Chastelain. "The matter of decommissioning weapons is as much philosophical as practical. People can always get more weapons, but this will drastically reduce the number of highly dangerous ones they already have."

If warlike factions "win" the settlement to succeed, they don't need their guns and they should give them up.

In Ottawa, Prime Minister Jean Chretien described the Stormont breakthrough as "historic." Consensus of Irish origin were similarly optimistic. Seamus Donaghy, social



Adams, the Irish who promote peace outside Stormont (left), hope

director of Britain's Irish Sports and Social Society and originally from Ulster's County Tyrone, said relatives there had told him "everybody—in the North and the South—is just hoping and praying it will last."

Not quite everybody. Across Northern Ireland, mistrust to the Stormont accord was mixed. Peadar Kirby, a 33-year-old Belfast Protestant whose boyfriend was killed by the IRA 15 years ago, said flatly: "Protestants on the ground will never accept this deal. From the moment it was signed, people like me will be working to oppose it." Michael Donnelly, a 49-year-old former IRA paramilitary in Londonderry, is among those who see the pact as a sell-out. "Any agreement which doesn't end British rule in this country is a betrayal," he said. "I believe that armed struggle will continue by true republicans."

But there were many others, many of whom, who felt that the time for armed struggle in Northern Ireland had long since passed. Maria McGuire, a 40-year-old Catholic from the border county of Armagh, said she went as she watched the agreement concluded on television. She was pregnant in 1974 when she last saw in a birth class. Four years ago, her first daughter died and killed her 17-year-old son, Gavin, and a friend while they played video games during school lunch break. "We been crying all day," said McGuire. "I really hope this means an end to violence forever in Northern Ireland." Anne Wright, a 20-year-old Protestant student in Belfast, was delighted there was a deal. "The young people of Northern Ireland are sick of the squabbling," she said. "We want jobs and a chance to live our lives in peace and be able to walk the streets at night. I hope this is the beginning of a new golden era." That much seemed assured. No matter how well the Good Friday peace pact succeeds, the troubled province has taken a giant leap forward.

With LIZZY FINKLER in Ottawa and JOHANN KESSEN in Belfast

# Dancing to a Latin beat

## Canada has high free-trade hopes

**S**anta Ana, El Salvador, is a picturesque town of a Central American town—typical in its lumber, in its coffee-scattered best and in the dusty elegance of its old buildings, whose whitewash at nightfall gives them a vivid phosphorescence. In the centre of the plaza, the Salvadorean army band, in blue uniforms, punches out Salsa marches near the fountain. A sizable crowd has gathered to listen; children play by the bandstand, lovers hold hands—and young people drink Labetti's Blue out of the can. Among the in-Latin Canadians, a first-timer youth in a loud check shirt, why does he drink Canadian beer in El Salvador? "I didn't know Labetti's was Canadian," he answers with a big smile.

El Santa Ana is perfect in its familiarity, Canada is an *perfecto desconocido*—a perfect stranger—in Latin America. The region buys \$5.3 billion worth of Canadian exports annually and has absorbed some 200,000 jobs in Canadian imports; yet Canada is still widely seen as a faraway land eternally covered in snow, somewhere beyond the United States. This is changing rapidly, however, and now we have the Secretary of the Americas in Santiago, Chile, will cement a much more visible relationship. Canada has a new interest in Latin America as an all-time high, and Ottawa stands ready to lead the way in extending NAFTA-style rules for free trade all the way south to Argentina, and with-out Washington. Andre's Serfaty, director of the Vancouver Institute of Social and Political Studies in Caracas, says Canada would be "a key go-between for us, and one that in Latin America is perceived as a counterbalancing force to the United States."

Opening up Latin America has become a key priority for Ottawa, especially as Asian markets shrink due to the region's financial crisis. In part, the push is in line with the long-sought conversion of Prime Minister



Street fair in Buenos Aires, Brazil: a vital potential export market

Juan Cárdenas's Liberdade to open markets, by which they signed NAFTA—the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement—with the United States and Mexico—and a free-trade pact with Chile last year, as well as endorsing the APEC trade forum with Asia. It is also a personal enthusiasm of Trade Minister Sergio Marchi, who was born in Argentina in 1966. His Italian immigrant parents later moved to Toronto, and his family background makes the economic link to Latin America more real to him than it might seem to most Canadians. "In Canada, we started with deep roots in Europe, we have obviously developed close bonds with the U.S. we have found out the Asian-Pacific side of our identity," Marchi said recently. "I predict that in the next three to five years we

as Canadians will also discover our north-south membership in the Americas hemisphere."

Last month, Marchi jumped at the chance to grab a higher profile—and a more demanding role—for Ottawa. At a government meeting of trade ministers in San José, Costa Rica, Canada was made chairman for the first 18 months of negotiations for a Free Trade Area of the Americas, a vision approved at the first hemispheric summit in Miami in 1994. Setting the table in motion will be the key duty of the leaders of 34 nations in the Americas and the Caribbean convening in Santo Domingo on April 18 and 19. Ottawa officials are determined to make sure the work gets off to a quick start—and is not dropped down by other priorities over Washington's willingness to take the planned seven-year bargaining process seriously. U.S. President Bill Clinton will arrive at the summit bolstered by the congressional defeat last November of the so-called free-trade approval process he needs to negotiate trade deals on his own. That has cast a cloud of doubt over the whole ambitious initiative.

But Canadian bullishness remains undiminished. Latin American policy makers visiting Ottawa these days are often surprised to discover that slow-growth Europe is being eclipsed by a new preoccupation with trade opportunities in Latin America. "The returning theme with the sense that in Canada's eyes, Europe is the past and Latin America the future," said a senior Mexican diplomat after a week spent in discussions with her Canadian counterparts. Brazilian banker Roberto da Costa has seen the same trend. "Canada has become very important in its lobbying for free trade with Latin America because it means more business for Canadian companies and more jobs for Canada," says the Rio de Janeiro-based executive.

In Canada, many business people and trade officials have been impressed by the results of free trade with Mexico and Chile, as well as the January trade mission to Mexico, Brazil, Chile and Argentina by Jean Charest. Charest's and his encourage-

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## World NOTES

### STRUGGLE IN RUSSIA

The Russian parliament rejected President Boris Yeltsin's candidate for prime minister, 35-year-old Sergei Kiriyenko. Opponents said the former energy minister was too inexperienced. But the result, which was anticipated, showed more votes for him than expected, leading some analysts to predict his confirmation in a second ballot likely this week.

### SONNY'S WIDOW WINS

The widow of former entertainer Sonny Bono won his Palm Springs seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in the wake of his death in a skiing accident in January. Mary Bono, 36, a conservative Republican like her husband, founded Democratic Right to Life, an actor who played Duane on the TV series *The Waltons*. Sonny, 62 when he died, played tennis with then-wife Cher in their 1980s singing duo, Sonny and Cher.

### PROBING KING'S SLAYING

U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno said her department will review new evidence presented by Goffa Scott King about the 1968 assassination of her husband, civil rights leader Martin Luther King. James Earl Ray pleaded guilty to the murder and was jailed for life, but soon escaped. The King family now says the aging Ray was a scapegoat and backs his bid for a full trial.

### CANADIAN DETAINED

UN Secretary General Kofi Annan suspended work by a human-rights team investigating massacres in Congo after authorities arrested a Canadian member and seized his documents. The detention of Canadian Christopher Harkend, who was released a day later, followed attempts by the government of President Laurent Kabila to block the investigation of charges that Kabila's Tutsi forces killed thousands of Rwandan Hutu refugees during the rebellion that brought him to power.

### HAMAS LEADER HELD

Palestinian police detained the leader of the militant Islamic group Hamas amid growing tension over the recent death of a top Hamas commander. Palestinian investigators said Mohyeddin Shalhi was murdered in a Hamas power struggle. Hamas leader Abdel Aziz Rantisi was held after he accused Palestinian officials of collaborating with Israel in the March 25 bombing.



**TWISTER TERROR:** A girl looks out from her bedroom after a tornado ripped off the outer walls of her suburban Atlanta home. A series of twisterstorms tore through towns across Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia, killing at least 30 people and forcing hundreds from their damaged or destroyed houses. Near Birmingham, Ala., a twister packing winds up to 400 km an hour damaged telephone poles onto roads, crushed cars like opened accordions and ripped 50-year-old trees out of the ground. A day after the storm demolished a house in Pleasant Grove, Ala., a nine-month-old baby was found alive in the basement.

## Closing in on war criminals

The prospect of two of the 20th century's most wanted war criminals going on trial seemed closer to reality last week. Reports surfaced that Washington was working on plans to arrest Cambodian demagogue Pol Pot—and that indicted Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic was negotiating a surrender to the UN war crimes tribunal in The Hague. The White House confirmed a deal centered Thailand about capturing Pol Pot, now 73, from the jungles of neighboring Cambodia, where his communist Khmer Rouge movement is disintegrating. The New York Times said President Bill Clinton had ordered officials to draw up active plans for an arrest. Pol Pot is held re-

sponsible for the deaths of up to 2 million Cambodians between 1975 and 1979.

Diplomats said prosecutors in The Hague were prepared to put Pol Pot on trial if the UN approved. There he could find himself in a cell next to Karadzic, who faces genocide charges for "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia between 1992 and 1995. A Western diplomat said Karadzic had contacted Bosnia's moderate Serb leadership seeking terms for a surrender that could come as "days or weeks." The pressure rose as NATO forces in Bosnia arrested two wanted communication camp commanders. Karadzic reportedly fled his Bosnian stronghold in Pale for refuge in another eastern European country.

## Tragedy strikes Mecca's pilgrimage

Despite intense safety efforts by Saudi authorities, tragedy again marked the annual Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca. More than 150 people died in a stampede at nearby Muzna as the last day of the hajj. Nearly 300,000 people had been waiting in morning heat to wear pilgrim's attire in a ritual to drive away Satan's temptations. When they began to move, many elderly pilgrims were crushed or knocked off a four-lane high elevated walkway. Last year, 600 in a tent city killed 340 people, and in 1990—the worst Mecca disaster to date—1,436 pilgrims died in a stampede in a pedestrian tunnel.



# Front-page challenge

Conrad Black  
launches a  
national daily

BY ANTHONY WILSON SMITH

At the end of one of the most important days of his professional life, Don Balchuk, the president and chief operating officer of Southern Inc., did exactly what he has done on many days previously. He left his office in the downtown building that houses The Vancouver Sun and The Province newspapers, and drove home to dinner with his wife, Jacqueline. They and a friend shared a bottle of wine over dinner before calling it a night. By 6:30 the next morning, the 55-year-old Balchuk was, as usual, back behind his desk. Only then did he have time to reflect on what had just happened and what lies ahead. "I decided," he told Maclean's, "that I'm not sure whether I'm excited as hell, scared as hell—or a fair bit of both."

It is not every day that someone presides over the launch of a new national newspaper. Never mind that the new Southern producer has no name, no editor, no publisher, no staff other than Balchuk—its president and CEO—no design, and no official start-up date. Despite the paucity of detail, the likes of John Balchuk, who also is publisher of the Sun and Province newspapers, insists that his company is "completely committed to this paper." He added: "Our expectations will just have to wait until we find it convenient to give out our full strategic plans."

The lack of hard information left some of those rivals unsurprised. In the wake of the launch, Roger Parkinson, the publisher of the new paper's principal competitor, The Globe and Mail, remarked acidly: "If they're trying to make the announcement reflects the way their plan to run their newspaper, I'd like a Southern shareholder to send me a great many questions." Lower-level staff at the Globe and Mail and The Financial Post speculated that Conrad Black—whose Bio/Ingram line owns 58 per cent of Southern—may be using the launch as a play to pressure one of those newspapers to sell out to him. The most likely target would be the Post, which Black has courted in the past. Sources at the Post



Black and Ann Roden, the press knew was conspicuously absent

which is owned by Sun Media Corp., say their company has previously indicated a willingness to swap the Post to Southern for the Vancouver Province, but that Southern said no.

Most analysts, however, accept Balchuk's assertion that Southern is going ahead with its plans. They cite compelling signs of behind-the-scenes activity in that direction, as well as Balchuk's personal reputation as a straight shooter. "If that's what Don is saying, I accept it at face value," says Parkinson.

Assuming it does go ahead, potential readers will receive only a trickle of information about the newspaper until it hits the streets of some major cities in December. Among the facts the newspaper will be a broadsheet published five days a week, with a special edition that includes local news in Toronto—the one major market where



Presses at The Hamilton Spectator: questions

Southern is not now represented. For that reason, copies will be distributed free within selected neighborhoods in the Toronto area and to selected Southern subscribers in other cities. The paper will be printed on Southern's presses in area cities, with the Toronto edition rolling off the presses of The Hamilton Spectator.

But other than that, the announcement that Southern will go ahead with its long-termed new daily only confirmed what most observers already considered a certainty, and left a score of key questions unanswered. They include such issues as the overall editorial tone and content, cost and appearance of the new paper. Advertising industry executives—who play a key role in the future of the project, through their recommendations to clients as to whether to advertise in the paper—are still arguing over whether the impact will be positive or negative on the overall market. One thing is clear, and Ann Roden, president of Toronto-based BBDO Media Group, "this is the most exciting thing to happen to newspapers in the past decade." But at the same time, Southern shareholders may wish to take note of the newspaper's estimated start-up cost. PressScan estimates pegged the losses at about \$130 million over the next five to seven years, but Balchuk and other officials now talk about a "range" of \$100 million to \$130 million over the same period—a potentially significant increase.

Conspicuously by his absence from the news conference in Vancouver was Black, who spent the week at his home in London. Balchuk, asked repeatedly whether Southern is trying to keep its own front end out of the spotlight, answered: "It is not possible for anyone to be more tied to a project in the public mind than I already

the case with this and General. He simply has no need to be here." In the high-octane world of media buying agencies, at least, Black's association with the new paper is an important part of its appeal. Within the industry representatives regularly spend of "Black's place" rather than those of Southern, said Susan Ross, the president of Optimedia, a Toronto-based media buying company. "Black has established a track record of really representing the newspapers he chooses to invest in. His brand is carrying the day."

But there is more to the new product than Black's reputation and the secret details Southern has made public. In the past few weeks, company officials have toured media agencies with a prototype of the newspaper, on condition that people who see it sign a pledge of secrecy about its contents. Those who have done so are impressed. Roden was themselves of plans for a national newspaper when Southern first began discussions in 1995. But without giving details, she says that the prototype is prompting agencies to "look at newspapers in a different light. I can't compare it to any existing newspaper that I know of." Others who have seen the prototype suggest that it makes extensive use of color, and that the articles are sized at a high end, not limited audience.

As well, Balchuk told Maclean's that an editorial board has already been chosen, but was not introduced at the launch because "the person in question asked for several weeks' additional time to do some personal business." That suggests that Black is reaching outside his properties to fill the job. Balchuk added that while he will be president, a yet-to-be-named person will fill the traditional publisher's functions. And some Southern sources believe that Black's wife, Barbara Arad, who is Holberg's vice-president of editorial operations, as well as a Maclean's columnist, will play an important advisory role.

No matter who the editor and publisher are, they face imposing challenges. Despite a booming economy, rising ad revenues and record profits at Southern Inc. and other newspaper companies last year, there are signs of trouble. According to figures compiled by the Information Bureau of Canada, the percentage of overall advertising dollars spent on newspapers has declined in recent years, dropping to 18 per cent in 2005 from 22 per cent in 1990 (five and a half years for which statistics are available). One reason is a decline in the amount of time the average reader devotes to his or her newspaper. Daily news 48 minutes a day, or 4.5 minutes a day, last year. Among the principal causes of increased profits are a drop in the cost of newspaper and greater efficiency brought about by staff reductions and improved technology.

For all that, journalists everywhere have been caught in reports of secret meetings, deals and relocations. "I don't know," says Balchuk. "I don't know what's going on," says Balchuk, "because they have signed with us from outside Southern is not telling the truth." The signing of an editor will come first, probably within two weeks. Then, says Balchuk, "he or she will send senior staff shortly after." Some people within Southern have already been approached at Balchuk says, "have reason to believe that will happen."

The stack of resumes from journalists seeking one of the more than 100 staff jobs on the new paper is growing ever higher in Balchuk's office and that of Gordon Fisher, the vice president of national operations. "The level of interest is at its peak," Fisher said recently. "This is a tremendous" Canadian readers may still be undecided on the need for a new paper—but many journalists are ready to state with their feet.

With JIMMIE WATKINS in Toronto

## HAPPY DAYS

Total Canadian daily newspaper ad revenues (in billions)



# On top of the world

## Citicorp and Travelers form a financial behemoth

BY ANDREW PHILLIPS

Everything about last week's proposed merger between Citicorp and Travelers Group Inc. was grandiose—not least the rhetoric surrounding it. Uniting the two American titans into the world's largest financial services company gushed Citicorp chairman John Reed, as a "transforming merger"—a deal you simply had to do. His counterpart at Travelers, Sanford Weill, called it "a marriage made in heaven." James Duesen, Weill's right-hand man, sought to outdo even his boss. He awkwardly labelled it "one of God's great opportunities."

To be sure, star partners the new company, to be called Citicorp Inc., will be the Titane of banks, with a market value of some \$192 billion and 6994 billion in assets. That will make it No. 1 in the world—ahead of other international financial behemoths such as Tokyo-Mitsubishi of Japan, CIB of Switzerland and Germany's Deutsche Bank. By comparison, the proposed merger of the Royal Bank of Canada and the Bank of Montreal is small potatoes. If Ottawa approves that deal, the new Canadian bank will have a market value of just \$39 billion and assets of \$433 billion, making it



Reed (left) and Weill announcing the merger: It left you hot to trot

22nd in the world. In fact, the marriage of Citicorp and Travelers puts more pressure on Ottawa to let the Royal and the Bank of Montreal consummate their union. It dramatically underscores the global trend towards consolidating financial services. And it lends weight to the argument of Canadian bankers that they must unify—

or be crushed by the new world giants. But is the deal all that its architects, Reed and Weill, made it out to be? They boldly predicted a new era of worldwide banking, with tens of millions of new consumers hungry scooping up their financial offerings. If U.S. regulators give the go-ahead for the merger, the new Citicorp will start with more than 100 million customers in 100 countries, and use Travelers' famous red umbrella symbol. It will sell everything from credit cards to insurance, mutual funds, broker age services, mortgages and car loans. The gamble is that a new middle class is emerging around the world with a demand for all that, and more. "This middle class increasingly demands a superior product," said Reed, "and they demand that it's easy to get, reasonably priced, and no hassle." Investors initially gave the move a high thumbs-up. Shares of both companies jumped sharply, adding 843 billion in combined value in a single day and pushing the Dow Jones index to its first ever close over 9,000. It finished the week at 8,960.

Then the hard questions started. The Citicorp-quarterly rhetoric aside, is based on an old concept—the so-called 60/40 financial supermarket. The idea is that consumers want one-stop shopping for a range of financial products under a single corporate umbrella. It is an alluring notion, but one that has been tried before without success. Most famously, American Express spent most of the 1980s cobbling together a network of subsidiaries offering investment banking, insurance, charge cards and financial planning. Among the acquisitions was Shearman & Sterling bank firm headed by Weill. Customers balked at its diversions,

and Amex was forced to divest the unprofitable divisions. During the same decade, Sears, Roebuck & Co. tried to spread broker Dean Witter Reynolds to offer a much-decried "stocks and bonds" concept—consumer goods and financial services under one roof. It, too, failed.

But the problems plaguing two massive companies with about 362,000 employees worldwide will be a mammoth task. Under a slushy arrangement outlined by Reed and Weill, the new company will be overseen by a 24-member board and run by both men acting as co-chairmen and co-CEOs—a formula for potential conflict and confusion. In any event, worried skeptics there may not be enough of it. "It looks," editorialized the *Financial Times* of London, "about as manageable (and potentially remunerative) as the British company's halfhearted quest. The difficulties of the new venture will be enormous."

Leaving aside the managerial challenges, there is the problem of how powerful opposition the Reed and Weill took during a joint announcement in New York City to stress how long they have known each other—almost 30 years—and how much they respect each other. But those who have followed their careers quickly pointed out that they could hardly be less alike and did not reach the pinnacle of their profession by tolerating rivals. Weill, 45, is a street-smart native of Brooklyn, the son of Polish immigrants who has built a personal fortune of more than \$2 billion through decades of deal-making on Wall Street. Reed, 56, is a career Citicorp man with a reputation as a reserved leader who has survived as chairman since 1984 by firing anyone who threatened to emerge as an obvious successor. "His quiet and more inward-looking," he said when asked to compare himself with Weill. Reed is also a competitive pugilist: Inside his new home in the Hamptons, his personal stake in Citicorp is worth just \$455 million.

While Canadian bankers scored upon the Citicorp deal to force more heavily on Ottawa to approve the Royal Bank of Montreal merger, the two deals are quite different. The Canadian proposal is purely about using forces in a relatively small market, and using that base to compete internationally. Citicorp and Travelers are vastly bigger, and want to become one of a handful of truly global operators. But the deals are part of a single trend and both pose challenges to government regulators struggling to create new rules for a new company within the confines of laws born during the insecurity of the Great Depression. The old wisdom was that it was dangerous to allow financial power to become too concentrated. In Canada, the Bank Act and federal policies prevent banks from merging or expanding into related fields. In the United States, the Glass-

## RUNNING HEADLONG TO THE CORPORATE ALTAR

Dollar value of Canadian mergers and acquisitions by quarter (in billions)



Stein Act of 1933 forbids banks from offering insurance services. Reed and Weill made it plain that they believe their deal will force American legislators to change the law—and to keep up with the new reality.

On both sides of the border, more financial mergers may follow. In the United States, Chase Manhattan Corp. has long been rumored to be courting Merrill Lynch or Credit Suisse. In Canada, the Toronto Dominion Bank tops the speculation. With the Royal Bank of Montreal merger now more probable, TD Bank chairman Charles Balfour said he was more open to a deal

than he was in the past. The Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce is the TD Bank's most likely partner. Whatever deals emerge, the single prospect looms as the price of financial stocks on Wall Street and Bay Street.

The merger issue is not limited to financial services. Other sectors have been transformed by similar deals as recently as October, the \$37-billion takeover of MCI Communications by WorldCom set a record as the biggest corporate merger ever. That is now dwarfed by the Citicorp deal—worth some \$112 billion, based on the number of shares that Travelers plans to use to Citicorp stockholders. In Canada, too, mergers and acquisitions are making of a record pace—up 75 percent by value in the first quarter of 1998 over the previous year. Topping the list in Canada is the \$11-billion proposed merger of Novus Corp. and TransCanada Pipelines Ltd.

It is not an exaggeration, really, to claim that the end of the '90s, when RJR-Nabisco was taken over by leveraged-buyout armistice Kohlberg Kravis Roberts in a mega deal that came to symbolize the decade of greed-or-good. What followed soon after was recession and retrenchment. Across investors—wondering the Dow first met 9,000—can only hope that history is not about to repeat itself. □



### CITICORP

- **Founded:** 1912
- **Based:** New York City, with offices in 98 countries
- **Assets:** \$442 billion
- **1997 profits:** \$5.1 billion
- **Employees:** 93,700
- **Canadian employees:** 1,500
- **Services:** Commercial and consumer banking, mortgage and investment banking, trust services, consumer finance, credit card services

## A TALE OF TWO TITANS

### TRAVELERS GROUP

- **Founded:** 1864
- **Based:** New York City, with offices in 29 countries
- **Assets:** \$549 billion
- **1997 profits:** \$4.4 billion
- **Employees:** 69,000
- **Canadian employees:** 48
- **Services:** Brokerage operations, asset management, commercial lending, life insurance, property and casualty insurance



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# Deirdre McMurdy

## The Bottom Line

### The belly of the bull

After weeks of flirtation, New York's Dow Jones industrial average barrel through the 9,000 mark last week. The Toronto Stock Exchange 300 composite index has also been buoyant, gaining about 14 per cent in the first quarter of 2006.

Even more remarkable, recent gains in North American markets have played out against a backdrop of uncertainty. Asian markets show no signs of recovery from their collapse in the final quarter of last year. Commodity prices remain soft, especially for gold and crude oil. And corporate earnings show signs of flagging after years of increases.

For those investors in search of deeper understanding of the bull market—or those who just want an entertaining glimpse of the market's underbelly—two new books about life on the trading floor provide revealing glimpses. Despite the glamorous stage conveyed by the hit television program *Trading*, trading floors are the engine rooms of the financial world—buzzy, greasy machines throbbing with greed and decided by low. *Trading the Bull* by Paul Siles and *Pit Bull* by Martin Schwartz strip away the veneer from the cutthroat world of trading.

Siles, who worked on Wall Street for Merrill Lynch, and Schwartz, an independent trader with his own investment funds, both have military backgrounds, and it's clear they were affected by the combative aspects of trading. But in the end, their professional discipline was overwhelmed. The market possessed and almost destroyed them.

From their tales emerges a portrait of a ruthless, maelstrom world populated by people who often do not care what they sell—as long as they keep moving product. Siles identifies the traders he worked with as people who "were quite capable of carrying out their daily responsibilities, but the theory behind them and their broader meaning: not to mention the responsibilities of others, were shrouded in a fog of guesses, assumptions and errors." Inevitably, that

"fog" leaves the market vulnerable to rumor and speculation. Schwartz admits he is a sucker for inside tips—even though he knows his sources use him to cushion their own positions. "You now for the umpteenth time that you'll never play another market," he writes. "But then a few months later, the phone rings."

Another theme running through both books is the ambivalent relationship between dealers and their clients. Schwartz grows about 0.1% (other people's money) and the way that investors erode his trading style, badgering him for information about

his performance with their money. Siles deals for an internal rivalry between the retail and the institutional brokers and the shameless way that both bribe clients to buy whatever the firm has on hand. In that meaner world, dominated by flash trading data screens, short attention spans and a trader-specific lexicon, there is little management direction. The food chain is clearly established, but there is only natural leadership—because true leadership would require someone to concentrate on the good of the organization rather than the individual.

As a trustee at Merrill Lynch, Siles describes the painful process of trying to carve a niche for himself while everyone around him works at loggerheads. Although Siles's book is more thoughtful and measured in its investigation, both authors bring out the worst qualities in people, his detachment and moral disdain for the trading floor give *Trading* the feel of a very outside look. *Pit Bull*, on the other hand, is a raucous, anecdotal celebration of the market and its mayhem—until the end. That's when Schwartz falls prey to a stress-related illness, and while he is sidelined, the market moves and flies. "I'd wanted to prove that I could run with the big dogs," he writes, "and I did for awhile, and it almost killed me." In the end, both authors unashamedly raise the same unanswered question: do the means justify the end—or do they amount to the same thing?

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## Business NOTES

### LUMBER FUD REKINDLED

Congress officials were considering legislative action after the U.S. Customs Service moved to close a loophole in a two-year-old pact that prohibits exports of Canadian lumber. Cabinet producers have been sluffing the quotas by drilling small holes in the wood and reclassifying it as "veneer."

### BIOCHEM BOMB CHARGES?

Montreal police said they are close to laying charges in last fall's bombing of two Biochem Pharma Inc. buildings. Investigators believe the bombs were planted by a group that hoped to profit from a temporary decline in the company's stock price.

### BRE-X SUIT CLEARS HURDLE

Former investors in Bre-X Minerals Ltd. cheered an Ontario court's refusal to throw out parts of a class-action lawsuit against company leaders and several brokerage firms recommended the stock. Lawyers for the defendants said the ruling was a hollow victory because the judge threw out some of the allegations and said others barely met the court's test of acceptability.

### TOBACCO DEAL DEAD

U.S. tobacco giant abandoned a landmark deal with Congress, with one industry official saying it would lead to a black market in cigarettes similar to the one that occurred in Canada when tobacco taxes were raised. The agreement would have forced tobacco companies to pay \$721 billion over 25 years for smoking-related health costs.

### YEAR 2000 A 'MILD BLIP'

The year 2000 computer problem is unlikely to cause more than a "mild blip" in economic activity as the new millennium begins, the Bank of Montreal said. The bank's economists see most large companies are already taking steps to address the issue.

### DOWN ON HIS LUCK

A brokerage executive who was once the highest paid man on Bay Street received no pay last year because of the firm's trading losses. "It's all down by performance," said Robert Collins, vice-chairman of the executive unit at First Manhattan Inc. Dallas, based in Vancouver, collected \$7.2 million in 1995. First Manhattan's top executive received all of their compensation in the form of performance-related bonuses.

## Japan looks for a jump-start

Japanese Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto announced a \$106-billion package to stimulate that country's ailing economy, but observers said the measures are not enough to reverse Japan's slide. The package includes a \$45 billion in tax cuts over the next two years, or about \$485 in savings each year for the average family. But "that's peanuts," said Sung Won Sohn, chief economist at Norwest Corp. in Minneapolis. "Consumers are likely to save rather than spend it," he predicted, "because of pessimism about the economy."

Even so, the package was welcomed by U.S. and Asian leaders, who have insisted that Japan must move boldly as its consumers can buy more and help its neighbors in the region.



Hashimoto: troubled times

out of their worst financial crisis in decades. At the same time, Japan's own financial difficulties are worsening. The Prime-based Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development wanted that Japan's economy will shrink by 0.3 per cent in 1998, its first year of contraction since 1974. Small businesses are going bankrupt and larger companies that once paid themselves on providing workers with jobs for life are laying off employees. Last year, Hashimoto unveiled a one-time income tax cut of \$21 billion to jumpstart the economy. Experts

also criticized that plan, saying consumers would simply save the money. "It made the same mistake again," said Shigeru Okazaki, an analyst at IDC, Wolfsburg in Tokyo.

## Crushing a poison pill

Stock market regulators struck down a so-called poison pill defense adopted by WTC Wireless International Communications Ltd. of Vancouver to fend off a \$750-million takeover bid by Winnipeg-based CanWest Global Communications Corp. The provision would have allowed WTC to stall the CanWest offer, giving it more time to search for other suitors.

The regulators' decision appears to open the

way for CanWest to buy a majority of WTC's non-voting shares. CanWest then hopes to trigger a provision in WTC's bylaws that would allow it to convert its holdings to voting shares. If CanWest succeeds, it would achieve its goal of becoming a subsidiary TV network. WTC, which is controlled by Shaw Communications Inc. of Calgary and Edmonton's Allard family, owns nine TV stations, including four in Alberta—the only province in which CanWest does not have a presence.

## FINANCIAL OUTLOOK

Canada's unemployment rate dipped 0.1 percentage points to 8.5 per cent in March, its lowest level since August, 1990. The pace of job creation, however, was slower than in previous months, expected. Only 18,000 new positions appeared in March, compared with 62,000 in February. The increase was entirely among part-time jobs, offsetting a small reduction in the number of full-time positions.

On the bright side, help-wanted ads continued to pile up in newspapers in March.

Statistics Canada's index of job ads, based on a survey of 22 major newspapers, now stands 41 per cent higher than in March, 1996.

The housing market also continues to pick up, with Canada Mortgage and Housing Corp. said that housing starts increased 3.1 per cent in March.

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in March and are on track to hit 163,000 units this year, that compares with 148,000 in 1997.

"We still got 100,000 new jobs in the first quarter. Without too much effort, you could see 400,000 for the year as a whole."

—Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce

"We are looking for solid job in the first quarter. Without too much effort, you could see 400,000 for the year as a whole."

—Nesbitt Burns





# Peter C. Newman

## Conrad Black's latest bold, uphill challenge

**C**onrad Black's decision last week to launch a new national newspaper in his home country is a bold step that he couldn't avoid taking. Conrad is unique. He and his wife, Barbara Aronov, have become the royalty of Canada's business establishment. That means he must heed impulses and challenges quite different from the other members of his golden circle.

His attitude reminds me of Cassandra Wilson, an American jazz singer, who was recently interviewed by *The New York Times*. Asked about insiders in jazz, she wisely replied that her gender actually gave her a decided advantage: "Just as like a good-old-boy's club," she said, "it's very difficult to get into and it has its own secret language. But once you're inside of it, you gain a certain freedom. You can hang out with the guys. And just can be one of the guys. But they can never be one of you. Being a woman and a singer, I'm kind of an outsider. So I've never felt I had to abide by any rules."

That's right. He's setting up his own rules and creates his own challenges. One reason he is planning to launch a new daily is that he feels he has to prove himself to the one national audience that has failed to praise him, his own country folk. The Black empire now controls some of the world's great newspapers. Conrad has gone global in a big way. He owns papers in Israel, London, Nigeria, Mexico: Tel Aviv, Chicago and 56 other places in Canada. He has homes in Toronto, London, New York, Los Angeles and Tulsa, Okla.

He is the citizen of the world. His world. His newspapers now boast a daily circulation of 4.3 million, only surpassed by the empire of Rupert Murdoch and the Gazette China. He has become one of the richest entrepreneurs of his generation almost always outwitting his competitors and never failing to dominate them with the appropriate bow-tie.

A large part of his clout flows from his penmanship. He has the literary knack of creating pages of beautiful prose. I've interviewed him many times, especially when I was researching my book about him, *The Kindness of Men: A Portrait of Power*, which was published in 1992. And even when there were just two of us in his home or office, he would set out his answers to my questions, sometimes ranging in his art, to imitate Charles de Gaulle or Napoleon Bonaparte, two of his favorite role models.

He has a very special knack. His presence is charged with an infectious science that ignites confidence. Because he withholds as much of his real self from interviews, dinner guests, stock analysts, diplomats—everybody—until he is fit to fill the void. Visitors outside in him, hoping he will reciprocate.

He gives off an aura similar to that which surrounds movie stars, Bollywood prophets and Media Masters. The truly pow-

erful are always more interesting than the merely rich.

No businessman in Canadian history has attracted—and deserved—so much attention. Since Conrad Black is not just a name, it's an occupation. Despite all of that renown and gossip value, Black has never actually started a newspaper. Even at the very beginning of his run, he was buying properties such as Quebec's *Le Quotidien*, Toronto's *Advertiser* in *Knowledge* and the *Shoreline Daily News*—and, more recently, Canada's largest newspaper chain, Southern Inc. Most of Black's 30 daily newspapers have left his possession since the purchase was completed in the summer of 1996. He has installed new editors closer to his ideology, purchased new presses, and even his ideological critics would have to admit that the quality of each of his papers, strictly in terms of its presentation and content, has improved. That has certainly been the case in *The Vancouver Sun*, which is my local paper, where John Crankshaw, formerly managing editor of *The Globe and Mail* and now the *Sun's* editor in chief, has transformed a pedestrian daily into a masterpiece.

And that's one of the new national daily's problems. How many newspapers can one household absorb? If you're already buying *The Globe and Mail*, which may be quirky but has a wide range of the best editors, writers and commentators of any newspaper in the country on its staff, plus subscribing to the *Sun*—or whatever the local equivalent may be—can you afford the time and money to buy and read

yet another newspaper? I doubt it. What all newspaper publishers must carefully consider these days is that they are in a severe competition for their readers' time. That's why any new newspaper, magazine or book must be something the reader not only wants, but needs. That's a tough requirement to meet. It's easier to make a newspaper entertaining than essential. Black's people have already covered that the new journal will not be concentrating on business coverage, which is already able and extensively covered by *The Financial Post* and the *Globe's Business*. That leaves general news in the main role for a national daily, because entertainment is more local than national.

And that opens a much larger question. Newspapers are seldom any longer the first carriers of breaking news. That honor goes to television and radio. To grab their share of attention, tomorrow's newspapers will have to be very different. They must deliver relevant criticism, dependable predictions, the reconstruction of current events—explaining in fascinating detail how and why something happened and what it happened, which will be old news.

If Conrad Black's new national daily newspaper delivers that kind of bold interpretive line, it will be a great success. If not, it will be his last great failure.

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# AFTER



# DIVORCE

COVER

BY SHARON DOYLE DRIEDGER

Marjorie leans against the window sill in an Edmonton courthouse, rolling her eyes with impatience. "It's Saturday, for Christ's sake," the mother of three grumbles. "I'll skip out if I can." Marjorie, who refuses to give her last name, is a reluctant participant in a workshop on divorce. So is Jerry Miller: the solemn-faced father of two teenagers complains that he is "upset by this outside interference on a family matter." But since last October, when Alberta introduced Canada's first compulsory divorce education program, anyone who wants to go to court with a dispute about child support, custody or access must first attend a six-hour course called Parenting After Separation. The irreverent call it "Spiltville High." Here, learning how to negotiate with a hostile spouse is lesson number 1. "On a scale of one to 10, how would you rate your ability to communicate with your ex?" asks instructor Stephen Andrew. Hands fly up for the lowest score: about a third, it seems, can barely speak to their former partners without a fight. Only two claim a civil relationship. The rest fall into an uneasy middle ground. "Oh," says Andrew, "we've got our work cut out for us today."

Welcome to divorce 101, a modern attempt to solve an all-too-common problem. Alberta's program teaches parents how to handle marital breakup as part of a divorce reform movement now sweeping North America. Nova Scotia, British Columbia, Ontario and several other provinces are planning to introduce similar courses. Meanwhile, divorce schools are now available in 40 American states and mandatory in three. Often, the impetus comes from judges tired of playing King Solomon to vindictive parents. Courtrooms are jammed with thousands of parents fighting over child support, custody and access. Aggravating the problem are recent massive cuts in legal aid, forcing many parents to represent themselves. Meanwhile, a small but vocal fathers' rights movement is playing a role

in her involvement in a divorce," says Illinois Senator Anne Cook, one of the most outspoken members of the committee. "It's now time to look at the plight of the children. The pushovers are enormous."

Divorce, once meant to liberate families from unnecessary misery, appears to have caught many children in its crossfire. In the 1980s, the traditional wisdom that children might be harmed by divorce came to be viewed as quaint—as hopelessly outdated as *Parker House* fluff. *The Crucible* by Susan, a 1970s best-seller and *The Lonely Divorcé*, a popular sitcom about a sprawling blended family, signalled a shift to a positive new attitude. "If divorce could make one or both parents happier, then it was likely to improve the well-being of children as well," explains American social historian Barbara Whitehead in her controversial 1997 book, *The Divorce Culture*. Now, she says, "we are sadder but wiser."

And angrier. Anti-divorce sentiment is leading the push for tougher divorce laws. The backlash is particularly strong in the United States, where close to half of all marriages break down. Last year, Louisiana introduced "coverture" marriages, in which couples opt for a contract, making it more difficult to divorce. In Canada, the numbers are stark: before the introduction of the Divorce Act in 1968, the divorce rate sat at eight per cent. By 1997, a year after the institution of no-fault divorce, that figure had skyrocketed to 44 per cent, last year. It had fallen to 40 per cent. "The levels have come down, and are relatively stable," says Robert Gossop, director of the Vanier Institute of the Family in Ottawa. "But they are stable at

## PARENTS ARE STRUGGLING TO PUT KIDS FIRST

PHOTOGRAPH BY [unreadable]

a historically unprecedented high rate." Last year, he notes, about 60,000 children were involved in a custody dispute.

There is no doubt that some children are better off after their parents' divorce. "Many are relieved that they no longer live in abusive families, with fear and violence and nagging," says University of Alberta sociologist Susan McDermid. But there is growing evidence that many children suffer long-term damage. Judith Wallerstein, a renowned California psychologist, was the first to announce the bad news in the early 1980s, when she began to publish reports of a study on children from divorced families. Her findings were ominous: they warned of long-term psychological, emotional and social problems, including high rates of suicide. Experts debate how many children are affected and to what extent. "But it doesn't make sense either 30 or 50 or 50," says Amanda Freeman, head of the Toronto divorce support service Families in Transition. "In 20 years, I have yet to meet a child who has no effects."

In the cramped waiting room at Freeman's downtown centre, children have left stark testimony to their feelings. A bulletin board, divided down the middle, offers kids a chance to express both the good and the bad things about divorce. Most important, Freeman told the children to place the board where their parents would have no way of seeing it. On the "bad" side is scrawled "You don't do anything with both parents together any more." As well "I am still sad. They are still fighting." On the "good" side: "I got two cats." They stopped fighting "In between are crayoned pictures of parents and children, some together, some apart, plus flowers and confetti stars."

Freeman, a pioneer in helping families cope, is convinced that three primary factors lead to severe psychological difficulties: parental conflict, poverty and parental abandonment. In turn, those psychological problems are increasingly linked to teen pregnancy, drug abuse and other social problems. And policy-makers are starting to add up the costs. Paul Sasse, federal MP for New Brunswick, who has just reintroduced legislation to make divorce counselling mandatory across Canada, has produced two booklets about the public burden of divorce. Sasse writes: "The consequences of family breakdowns are greater demands on our health and social programs and more crime."

Should parents stay together for the sake of the children? A recent Statistics Canada poll shows that those under 30 are more inclined than baby boomers to believe they should. Still, few would advocate a return to the punitive pre-Divorce Act days when it took an Act of Parliament to end a marriage, and even then, only on grounds of adultery, often using pre-arranged photos taken by private eyes. "Divorce is necessary," says York University sociologist

Aimee Marie Anheiser. "It is a safety valve for serious cases of abuse, overt hostility and an absolutely miserable marriage." At the same time, Anheiser's extensive research for her book *Ex-Spouses and Non-Spouses* shows that a large proportion of divorced couples come to regret their decision. "In one third of the cases, there were no serious grounds for divorce and they themselves would say things like, 'I'd like to do it over again, I wouldn't do it.'"

Intuitively, secular voices are joining the typically faith-based chorus against divorce. "I think people often get up too easily," says best-selling author and psychologist Peter Kravitz. *Goodbye This Love?* "People are more energetic and selfish and satisfied when they fulfill their obligations than when they forsake them. And our greatest obligation is probably to children." Still, Kravitz concedes, "for all that this has been studied, no body knows whether staying in a bad relationship is worse for children. I think the quality of divorce has probably improved somewhat. People have to start looking at divorce as a viable social institution, at making it more child-friendly."

In fact, while some couples end their marriages for the sake of the kids, others are taking responsibility, children's needs, and making more informed choices. "Couples just without destroying the lives of those they love," writes California sociologist Constance Ahrens in *The Good Divorce*. "These divorces don't make headlines—what they do is model the beginnings of a quiet social revolution." Such parents are helping to ease the transition by reducing the animosity, and replacing active in their children's lives. There is a burgeoning market for storybooks about blended families, with such titles as *Two Dogs & One Family*. Since its introduction in Canada in 1987, Rembrow, an international support group for children, has as-

## 'PEOPLE HAVE TO START LOOKING AT DIVORCE AS A STABLE INSTITUTION, AT MAKING IT CHILD-FRIENDLY'

tracted thousands to weekly peer-support sessions held in schools, churches and community centres across the country (page 40). There is also a growing acceptance of a new cultural norm: the multi-parent families that span two or more households.

Jimmy Chislery is part of that quiet revolution. When the Montreal producer clerked marriage ended eight years ago, he had no intention of losing touch with his daughter and son, now 15 and 13. At the time of their separation, he and his spouse, Mary Ann Chislery, put aside their ill feelings. "We avoided courts," says Chislery, who is legally separated. Now, the children alternate, in three-week stints, with each parent. Friends and acquaintances he reports, find it unusual that he and his new partner, Diane Paquette—who divorced with two children—see an such good terms with his ex-wife. "Mary Ann has been over here for dinner," says Chislery. "It's weird but it works. The kids are happy, so we're happy."

Fathers' rights advocates agree that such arrangements should be accepted as the norm. Department of justice statistics show that in 1994, only 35.5 per cent of the 78,800 divorce cases where a custody decision was made resulted in a shared parenting arrangement; the remaining cases only a 3.8 per cent granted custody to fathers. "You cannot have an effective role when you see your children for 48 hours every second weekend," says Sean Cummings, a Halifax divorce counsellor. "In many cases, fatherhood is happening between the hours of 4:30 and 6 p.m. at McDonald's every second Friday." The National Shared Parenting Association—an organization led largely by fathers that has urged talks with grandparents—is lobbying for a change in the divorce laws to make shared custody a more realistic option, except in cases involving abuse. And activists want the courts to stop using the words "custody" and "access"—with their implications of ownership. "If I am married, I am a parent," says Cummings. "But if I get divorced, I have access. Well, access is something we have to reframe and care. It should be referred to as 'parenting time.'"

"I remember Daddy said to me in at night and I remember I was still working and he didn't because he was when he first divorced," says 10-year-old Kimberly Gaudin.

"Now we are living far from Daddy and we only get to see him a little bit of time," says his eight-year-old sister Anna-Maria.

"The divorce is bad because I don't always like to go from one to the other and back again," says 12-year-old Philippe Gaudin. "I like being with both at the same time. It gets complicated."

Every second weekend Montreal businessman Gerald Gaudin, 49, drives on hours down the 401 to be out speed time with his three kids, who live with their mother and I have what is known as visitation rights," says Gaudin, who has been separated since 1995. Gaudin is appealing the decision that allowed his wife to move to

Toronto last year. "It is very difficult to accept that a court can take your children away from you and put a visiting schedule," says Gaudin. "I really haven't accepted that yet and I don't know if I ever will."

Many fathers insist that the legal system is stacked against them. "Pick a courtroom—any courtroom," says Stacy Robb, a 49-year-old former truck driver and president of D.A.D.S. Canada, one of several fathers' rights groups. "Time and again, men are getting custody and dad is paying support. Both and other fathers' rights activists claim that women "route" male false allegations of abuse to win custody of their children. And Katherine McNeil, a Vancouver child custody consultant, backs up fathers' claims that women make false accusations to win custody. "It happens regularly," says McNeil. She tells of a recent case in which a father was jailed and lost custody of his children after he was charged with assaulting his wife. He was a stay-at-home dad, bonded with the kids, and the mother's conduct was abhorrent," she says. "But the judge was a traditionalist who favored custody to the mother."

York's Aubert says that, while some fathers have legitimate grounds for complaint, "the simple fact is that, on average, mothers have the new end of the deal." Mothers, especially in the first few years after divorce, often bear the financial responsibility. In Canada, noncustodial parents—mostly fathers—owe a total of \$1 billion in support payments to ex-wives. "A lot of fathers who see their children regularly don't want to pay," says Aubert. "They are usually what you call Sunday daddies," says Aubert. "They are simply having a good time with their kids, whereas mothers are responsible for school schedules, homework, doctors' appointments, meals, babysitters."

Women's advocates, and many men, are appalled at the gap in childlike claims of such radical fathers' rights groups as D.A.D.S. Canada and Fathers' Rights Canada, which promotes laws of child support enforcement agencies to demand "childhood money" and "childhood judgments," and posted online messages on the Internet. Robb defends his organization's activities: "They call us fanatics because we've got the nerve to get up and say, 'Hey, something's wrong with the system.'"

But women's groups say that FRC and other men's groups are in fact formed within the past two years, are reacting to recent government initiatives to limit child support payments, as well as to new federal guidelines that generally increase payments to custodial mothers. "She's back home," says Toronto lawyer Carole Carlin. "Men are against women's demands for better treatment after separation."

Women's advocates believe that there are problems and gender access in the majority of cases. "Mothers are the primary caretakers," says Vancouver lawyer Laura Spitz. "It is not in fact to recognize that and give them custody." Lawyers representing women say that fathers demand for custody are often paid demanding chips. "Mothers are so afraid of losing custody, they will give up money at the drop of a hat," says Carlin. "And fathers are willing to let them do that." Family law specialists say that many divorced women are open to co-parenting arrangements, but find that fathers drop out of children's lives even



■ Gaudin and his children at a friend's Toronto home. He has what is known as visitation rights.

### WHO GETS THE KIDS?

Custody outcomes in 1994

SOURCE: STATISTICS CANADA



■ Kravitz is staying in a bad marriage scene.

when parents are granted joint custody, many children eventually gravitate to the mother's house. "The majority of my clients want fathers to have more access," says Spence, "and can't get them interested."

Mothers have rights. Fathers have rights. But what's best for the children? "The whole debate should come back to a child focus," says Spence, "so what a child needs." Experts say it would be a mistake to legally impose shared parenting on every divorced family. "Growing up is much bigger than being with your daddy or your mommy," says Waldstein. "A lot of it takes place on the playground, with friends, learning to play by yourself." Nor can every divorced couple manage to reach the post-divorce ideal of shared parenting. "It requires phenomenal cooperation and a certain level of income," Curtis observes. "To have two homes or even two apartments is very expensive."

Not all divorced parents have the level of trust, respect and ability to communicate required for shared parenting to work. "You have to value each other and respect each other," says Waldstein. "You have to be able to say, 'I'm not in touch today,' without the other parent saying, 'I've heard that excuse before.'" Shared parenting, she points out, means a closer emotional proximity. "You have to have parents who can stand being close without going to pieces when they learn every detail of the other's life. The child is going to come back and say, 'Oh, Daddy has a new girlfriend. What are you going to do? Mommy the child?'"

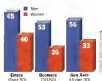
At the same time, the current legal presumption that the primary caregiver is the mother can be seen as a gender bias that inadequately recognizes the critical role of both mothers and fathers. "It is sensible to maintain a collaborative situation where both parents are available to the child psychologically, financially and socially," says Adara Horvath, a professor of psychology at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C. Edward Krulik, a professor of social work at the University of British Columbia, believes it is crucial to distinguish between a father's involvement in child care and actual attachment. "Fathers form very close bonds with their children," says Krulik. "In the vast majority of families, both are primary parents in the sense of children's attachment." But Krulik cautions against what he calls a "one-size-fits-all approach" to divorce. He believes in preserving the relationship that children had with their parents before the breakup. "When fathers are very involved in all aspects of child rearing," says Krulik, "they can continue to do that."

The emotional pain of divorce is often accompanied by a



## FOR THE SAKE OF THE CHILDREN?

Percentage who would stay in a marriage for their children



■ *Divorced (over 50) and Remarried (30-50) are more likely to stay in a marriage for their children*

harsh economic sting. "A decline in the standard of living is inevitable because you have two households to support," says Queen's University political scientist and child support expert Ross Finko. Carl, a Mississauga, Ont., airline employee, and his wife, a flight attendant, used to avoid the financial crunch by continuing to live in the family home. "I am a squire," says the father of two children, aged 12 and 14. "I live in the basement." Although adult work helps keep them afloat, they often end up in arguments, sometimes in front of the children. Still, he adds, "The children have a home, whether it's stable or unstable."

Last June, the federal government introduced new child support guidelines, hoping to eliminate some of the friction over child support. The mandatory guidelines limit the size of payments to the salary of the noncustodial parent. A parent with two children earning \$50,000 pays \$750 a month, for instance, and one earning \$20,000, \$280. It has eliminated poverty in certain cases but helped lift women and children out of poverty. But critics say the guidelines, which the court is required to apply in almost every case, in fact, are creating more fights over custody. According to the guidelines, a parent must pay the amount specified in the tables if they have custody less than 40 per cent of the year.

But many fathers claim the law is unfair. Alay Seever, a Toronto geologist, has custody of his two children, aged 10 and 7, five nights out of every 14 during the school year, with holiday time shared equally with his wife. Based on that custody agreement, the judge calculated that he spends 38 per cent of his time with his children and ordered him to pay \$1,200 per month. "I end up with a lower standard of living than my wife, even though my ex-

perences are fairly similar to hers," says Seever, who is challenging the order in court. "The issue is whether I get credit for my parenting."

Critics argue that Canada's family law system pits parents against each other in a win or lose situation that is damaging to children. "The notion that litigation solves custody or parenting problems is ludicrous," says University of Ottawa family law professor John Payne. "It may even make them a lot worse." Do lawyers promote hostility? "It is an adversarial system and some lawyers take the position that their job is to put their client's best interests first," says Halifax lawyer Philip M. A. Lawyer, he says, might inform a client, "If your spouse sees the children any more than 40 per cent of the time, then there is a possibility that your support will be reduced." That, adds M.A., is not illegal, or unethical—it's a statement of the law that it creates another area whereby the parties will war. "But I hope argue that it is unfair to blame lawyers for the hostility parents—and children—feel when a family comes apart. The battle is not created by the legal system," he says. "These people are in conflict, and human nature is often at its worst in the divorce process."

Cathy Stinson, an Ottawa legal secretary, used the mediation process to help hammer out a parenting agreement with her ex-husband after they separated seven years ago.

## FOR THOUSANDS OF PARENTS, LIFE AFTER DIVORCE IS A SERIES OF COMPROMISES AND NEGOTIATIONS



Seever was lectured as women spoke at the public hearings

She and her ex met in their mediator's living room and surprisingly went through all their conflicting issues. "He would give us a pen, and I would give on a point," says Stinson. The result was a detailed document that specified how much time their two children would spend in each household and how decisions would be made on medical and education issues. "The idea was to reinforce that we were joint parents," explains Stinson. In practice, she says, it is useful in parenting deals with issues his way and I deal with issues my way."

Rarely do the two ever speak beyond the children, Allright, and Ray, 30, carry a hard look and speak back and forth between their two homes. Each parent writes in times and dates for the children's appointments, birthday invitations and other reminders. So strained is their relationship that they also rely on the back-bench to settle disputes about discipline or school problems. "We use the former spouses as mediators for the agreement in a new round of mediation—one that is proving even more difficult than the last. "Each parent wants to maximize the time they had," says Stinson. "But the children want to make sure they get to go to their sports or dance activities. They start saying, 'It doesn't really matter which parent we are with—we have a life here.'"

For Stinson, and thousands of other Canadian parents, life after divorce is a series of compromises and negotiations.

"When you have children, you really cannot get rid of your ex," notes Amberg, "not if you care about the well-being of your children." Many cannot—or will not—cope with that reality. Some parents become disheartened and fade out of their children's lives. Others remain in a perpetual post-marital war zone. "Let's not be sentimental," says Amberg. "Some times people are so humiliated and betrayed that even adults can't get kids back." And some critics believe that litigation should stay out of the divorce process altogether. Curtis estimates that about 30 per cent of her clients are "bitter jokers" who never stop fighting. She tells of parents seeking an immediate court order. "She's in a shelter because he beat her up or he's at the airport on his way to South Africa with the kids. We have to let go of the notion that we can solve all these cases."

The divorce workshop in Edmonton wraps up on note, at 4 p.m. Participants—including Margorie—line up to receive the blue certificate that will prove to the court that they attended the Parenting After Separation course. Ilene Collinson, a 28-year-old photographer, sporting a broad smile and a gold ring in her right ear, says the course has already made a difference in her life. For a time, his former wife, Steve Collinson, had refused to allow him to see their two-year-old daughter, Elsie. But she changed her mind after attending the workshop a month earlier. "It made me focus on Elsie, not on my problems with Steve," the 25-year-old administrative assistant explains. "He is her father and you can't deny the child. If you do, they end up resenting you as they get older."

Waldstein applauds the Alberta initiative. "They must have some very skilled facilitators," she says. "There is a need to help families deal with their issues, and a need to teach them how to do so." In the end, does a child of divorce have any hope for a happy future? "You can't tell the next day," she cautions. "That are some children able to have good lives and good marriages and good careers? Yes, of course. The issue is better parenting." □



COVER

# COPING WITH PAIN

The sunflower room at St. Bernadette School in Edmonton is a small, cheerful space, with vivid pictures of trees and blossoming flowers on the walls. It is the reassuring space where a small group of children gather weekly to share their emotions in a support group called Rainbows. A few are dealing with the grief caused by a death in the family. But most are coping with the loneliness, anger and even hatred they feel after their parents have divorced. They share experiences with others their age, under the supervision of an adult facilitator. "It really is a good idea," said one 11-year-old participant in the program at St. Bernadette last winter. "It helps you understand that your parents love you even though they are breaking up."

For many children, the emotional upheaval from a divorce results in behavioral problems, falling grades or sleepless nights. Concerned parents often turn to child psychologists for help. But over the past 11 years, thousands have tried Rainbows, a program for elementary schoolchildren created in 1981 by Susan Yehl Martin, a nurse whose three young sons struggled after her divorce. The Schaumburg, Ill., resident brought the program to Ottawa in 1987. Now, Rainbows, as well as the schoolchildren and adult sessions, are offered in more than 300 schools, churches and community centres in every province but Saskatchewan. "You never see it advertised," said Rainbows Canada national director Theresa Cockburn, 62, a retired teacher from Barrie, Ont. "It has grown because parents that it helps their children's self-esteem, their behavior and their grades at school."

Off and on, change—operating costs are covered through fundraising—the Rainbows program is designed to teach children to cope with their emotions by talking about them. Trained volunteers guide children through 14 sessions dealing with many of the repercussions of divorce: the desire to blame one parent, anger, parental conflict, loss of a home and the changes that occur when one parent remarries. According to Lacey Jeffrey, who teaches Rainbows at St. Bernadette and two other schools, a parent's dating often triggers the most serious emotional upheaval. "A lot of kids hate the new person," says Jeffrey. "They'll do whatever they can to break up the relationship."

Marianne Oudreau, a 41-year-old nursing aide from Edmonton, turned to Rainbows last June because her daughters, now 15 and 13, became deeply resentful when she remarried—the years after separating from their father. "The program helped in a way I never could," says Oudreau. "Some of the kids had stepmothers who weren't so nice, and they would tell my daughters, 'Hey, you've got it good.'" For other children, the emotional crisis begins as soon as their parents' marriage breaks down. Lee Hagen, a 43-year-old Edmonton lawyer, separated in August, 1994, when her



Meeting in Edmonton: an effective program for thousands of children

daughter was 6 and her son was 6. Both children became angry and defiant. Hagen tried Rainbows, and signed them up for the program twice. "I wouldn't say they're back to where they were when we were together," says Hagen, "but they're much better."

Child psychologists and others who have studied the impact of divorce on children generally agree that programs like Rainbows are effective. What most parents want to know is how effective? Rhonda Freeman, director of the Toronto support service Families in Transition, concluded in 1995 after a three-year study of 82 children that the best results occur when a child and the custodial parent participate in concurrent programs. California-based researcher Judith Wolcott, one of North America's leading experts on divorce, believes that peer-group discussions can reduce the intense loneliness that many children feel after divorce. But she cautions the notion that it is a substitute for psychotherapy. "Making connections with other children is terribly important for these youngsters because half the class can be divorced and every child feels, 'Why me?'" says Wolcott. "But if the child needs treatment, the child needs treatment."

Whatever its limitations, Rainbows and its companion programs have attracted enthusiastic supporters across the country. Heather Dubois, a 17-year-old Grade 12 student from Barrie, has gone through several years of counselling since her parents separated a decade ago. Last fall, she decided to try Spectrum, the adolescent version of Rainbows. "I loved it," she says. "You notice that other people actually think and feel the way you do. You hear someone say they're sad at their father, and blame him for not making their life easy, and you say, 'Wow, I'm not the only one.'"

DARCY JENISH with SHARON DOYLE DRYSDALE in Edmonton

CGA  
CANADA

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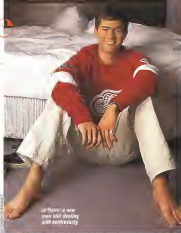
# People

Edited by  
TANIA DAVIES

## On a roll with a hot TV show

**D**awson's Creek is arguably the hottest new TV series in the United States. The one-hour drama focuses on the passions and foibles of four 15-year-olds attending an East Coast high school. Since it debuted last January on the WB Network (and went on to dominate ratings among teenagers and young adults), it has been hailed as the latest Great American Teen Show—although one of its stars is Canadian. Vancouver's Joshua Jackson, who plays the watermelony but enormously insecure Percy, has been commuting between school and movie sets since he was 10, when he worked in his first feature film, *Crash Course*. Now 19, Jackson also counts *Andie MacDowell*, *Tim Allen* and all three *Melvin Dune* movies among his screen credits. Recalls Jackson: "I had this double life, and being the average high-school kid, and the other when I'd just disappear for a couple months to go to a movie."

Created by Kevin Williamson (writer of the hit *Twister* films *Twister* and *Jaws*), *Dawson's Creek*, which started in Canada earlier this month as *Grilled*, has now made Jackson a teen idol—a strange thing for a self-described "nerd with wipers." Meanwhile, he has to deal with a very adult controversy: Some US critics have condemned *Dawson's Creek* for a subject in which Jackson's character has an affair with his 26-year-old teacher. But the actor calls the outcry ridiculous.



It's time for a new teen idol: dealing with controversy

lous. "We're not condoning in any way the relationship between students and teachers," he says. "It's not cool. It's not fun—it's terrible." And against charges that the show is encouraging teenage sex, Jackson gets downright frustrated: "Honestly, if people think the show is that bad, they'll change the channel." But as Jackson and *Dawson's Creek*—which is already renewed for next season—ride the high tide of TV kid-dom, that seems pretty unlikely.

## An artist's time to rise up again

**L**orraine Segato has always had a rebel-hair streak. In the late 1970s, the Toronto singer fronted a feminist punk band known as *Nanna Quila II*. Then, in the 1980s, she led *The Parachute Club* to the forefront of Canadian music with its rhythmic protest pop and best-selling song *Rise Up*. With her latest album, *Luminous City*, 45-year-old Segato has turned to more personal concerns, singing about romance and her spiritual life. Still, one number stands out as classic Segato: Written with veteran singer-songwriter Murray McLachlan, *Segato* celebrates women who unapolo-



Segato: "I needed to do a song like this"

getically break the rules. Surprisingly, it was McLachlan—best known for folk and roots music—who pushed her into the song. "Murray kept saying, 'I need you to get really angry,' because he believed I needed to do a song like this," recalls Segato. "But it wasn't until I remembered *Thelma & Louise* that I really got the concept of the bad girl. That's when I found my voice."

Segato is putting that angry voice into action as she and her Parachute Club colleagues wage battle with McCain Foods Ltd. and EMI Music Publishing over the use of *Rise Up* in a TV pizza ad. "The Parachute Club was known for its integrity, and now people think we sold out," says the singer, who with the band is seeking a court injunction to cease commercial use of their anthem. "We're fighting this for our reputations and for all the people who have told us how special that song is to them."

# An ounce of prevention

Tests show a drug can stop breast cancer from starting

BY MARK NICHOLS

Over the years, Patricia Valdes has seen a sister and a cousin die of breast cancer, and her mother and another sister were diagnosed with the disease. Now, doctors are monitoring two lumps in the breast of Valdes's 20-year-old daughter. Because of her family history and age, Valdes, 62, a retired nurse who lives in Thunder Bay, Ont., knows she runs a high risk of contracting breast cancer herself—"The first, she admits, "is always there in the back of my mind." It was there in 1982 when she heard reports of a massive study that was seeking to determine whether the drug tamoxifen—used first used to treat women who had already been stricken with breast cancer—could actually prevent the disease. Now, with encouragement from test of dramatic findings from the trial, it is almost certain the drug can do just that.

The results showed that, among women who took tamoxifen during the study, there were 45 percent fewer cases of breast cancer, compared with those given a chemically inactive placebo. As it turned out, Valdes was one of the women taking a placebo—but that did not trouble her greatly. "You proceed to have played a part in fighting this disease," she said. "Please, God, let them find a cure."

In fact, the benefits appear in the study of 13,388 women in the United States and Canada were so great that health officials halted it a 14-month early to let those on the placebo take advantage of the drug's effects. They say the drug appears to help women in all age groups, and predict that the findings could lead to drugs for preventing other kinds of cancer. "For the first time in history," said Bernard Fisher, scientific director of the Philadelphia-based National Surgical Adjuvant Breast and Bowel Project, which conducted the \$88-million study with funding from the National Cancer Institute in Bethesda, Md., "we have evidence that breast cancer cannot only be treated, but prevented." Dr. Alan Levin of Emory's Cross Cancer Institute—one of 15 Canadian centers that enrolled 1,762 women in the study—called the findings "really positive—a



Dr. Alan Levin (left) and Valdes, an intervention study was halted early where the benefits became clear

landmark study." The results, added Dr. Stephen Narod, a leading breast cancer researcher at Toronto's Centre for Research in Women's Health, constituted "a tremendous step forward—if it holds, shows a reduction in breast cancer, we'd have been back to Square 1."

But experts cautioned that the study had not turned up a single bullet capable of vanquishing breast cancer—and that it could be years before the long-term consequences of giving tamoxifen to healthy women are known. Not that they said, did the findings justify giving tamoxifen to all women, only to those who had the same risk profile as study participants—women 60 or older, those with a family history of breast cancer, women who have had no children or gave birth later in life, those who began menstruating early or have been found to have abnormal breast cells. "It is important that doctors don't start using this treatment without a meticulous assessment of the risks," said Dr. H. S. Dhillon, head of the Northwestern Ontario Regional Cancer Centre in Thunder Bay, which enrolled 49 women in the study. "This treatment is not for everyone."

The reason, while obviously showing that tamoxifen can save lives, the controversial six-year study, unexpectedly halted in 1994 because of safety concerns, showed that taking tamoxifen also carries

risks. They include a substantial cancer (which can usually be treated successfully if caught in its early stages) and potentially deadly blood clots in the veins and lungs. During the study, 33 women who were taking tamoxifen developed cancers of the endometrium—the lining of the uterus—compared with 24 in the placebo group. And 47 of the women who took tamoxifen developed blood clots in their veins and lungs, compared with 26 women in the control group. Two women who used tamoxifen died of blood clots in their lungs.

Overall, however, the benefits of tamoxifen for high-risk women seemed to outweigh the risks. Besides sharply reducing the incidence of breast cancer among women who used the drug, it also appeared to prevent osteoporosis, a disease that weakens the bones of older people, especially common among women. In the study, women who took tamoxifen experienced 47 bone fractures, compared with 71 among women in the placebo group. Study participant Shirley Nelson, a Vancouver nursing home administrator, was ecstatic when she learned that the two white pills that she took every day for five years were not tamoxifen and not the placebo. "It was a cause for celebration," said Nelson, 50, who has a family history of breast cancer. "I telephoned all my friends and relatives to tell them the news." Doctors said women in the placebo group should weigh the potential benefits and risks before deciding to use tamoxifen.

News of the findings came just as health officials in Canada published new statistics on the growing incidence of cancer in an increasingly elderly population. The Toronto-based Canadian Cancer Society cited Statistics Canada figures showing a 30-percent increase in age-specific cancer cases during the past decade—well ahead of a 25-percent population growth during the period—with nearly 130,000 new cases, and 62,700 deaths, expected this year. Moreover, the study warned that the number of new cancer cases could increase another 30 percent by the year 2020. As for breast cancer—the second biggest killer of women after lung cancer—more than 15,000 new cases are expected to be diagnosed in Canada this year—and an estimated 5,300 women will die of the disease. Thanks to earlier detection and improved treatment, the breast cancer mortality rate has declined somewhat in recent decades, with about 28 women dying of it each year per 100,000 in the population, compared with 34 deaths per 100,000 in 1981.

The breast cancer trial, claims for too many years—which is why the evidence that tamoxifen can play a preventive role was greeted so skeptically. Developed more than 20 years ago by Britain's Zeneca Group, tamoxifen was originally intended as a birth control drug, but failed in that role. Since the mid 1970s, physicians have used it to prevent breast cancer from recurring in most cases involving postmenopausal women following surgery. The drug is believed to

act by accumulating sites in breast cells that serve as gateways for the hormone estrogen—which, besides playing a key role in development of women's reproductive system, appears to fuel the growth of some cancers. By blocking breast receptors for estrogen, tamoxifen can either prevent cancer from starting, or slow spreading once they have formed. But in the intimate chemistry of the human body, tamoxifen can have the opposite effect in the uterus, where it can help stimulate tumor growth.

An even better drug may be waiting in the wings. At a news conference in Philadelphia, officials involved in the tamoxifen study said the next step could be a trial that would compare tamoxifen with toremifene, a new drug from the U.S. pharmaceutical giant Eli Lilly & Co. Sold under the brand name Evista, toremifene is currently used to combat osteoporosis. But researchers say it probably has the same breast cancer-slowing qualities as tamoxifen—but with fewer side effects. Officials said the new study, which could begin in the fall, would initially be limited to high-risk postmenopausal women. Because many women who now know they were taking placebo during the study want to switch to toremifene or toremifene, said Dr. Norman Wolmar, principal investigator in the study, "obviously we would like to have this trial available as quickly as possible."

A key question left unanswered by the tamoxifen study is whether the drug can help women who carry two genes that increased their risk of cancer under way. Researchers believe the genes BRCA1 and BRCA2 account for almost four percent of breast cancer cases. Toronto's Narod, who played a major role in identifying the genes in 1994 and 1995, hopes to have a preliminary answer before the end of this year. Since 1990, Narod's team has collected data on nearly 700 Canadian and American women who have one of the genes. About half of those women have already had cancer in one breast, and about one-third of those have been taking tamoxifen following surgery. Women with one of the genes who have had cancer in one breast have a high risk of developing it in the other—within 15 years in some cases.

From here, the hopeful findings of the larger tamoxifen study were to vindicate a project that, in the past, prompted some women's organizations to accuse researchers of irresponsibility and a careless disregard for the risks involved. "For a woman like me, Theresa B. Valdes, the results offered hope of preventing a life-threatening cancer disease. 'Now I have a choice,' says Valdes. 'I want to begin taking tamoxifen now—I've already talked to my doctor about it.' And she is more optimistic that her two young granddaughters may be able to escape the fate that has plagued her life—and the lives of so many other women."



Breast cancer cells: side effects are serious and long-term consequences still unknown

## TRIAL AND SUCCESS

Incidence of breast cancer in 6,681 women taking the drug tamoxifen compared with 6,707 given a placebo

### ► CASES OF BREAST CANCER



### ► BREAKDOWN BY AGE





## Justice

# Gulf War reject

**A**ndrew Lieberman's jaw is clenched by several days of stubble, his impulse to shove overboarded by the need to finish sealing the hull of a 13-m sailboat, Tamaran. Just starting a short leave from his job as first mate on a Vancouver-based tug, Lieberman has only a week to get the vessel, dry-docked in a Richmond, B.C., marina, ready for a race fleet, that is not the toughest challenge he faces. On May 4, Lieberman, 34, is taking the department of national defence to court in Vancouver for allegedly denying him his rights under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The reason? Lieberman says he was not allowed to participate in the 1991 Gulf War because he is Jewish.

His suit challenges the Canadian Forces' criteria for selecting members for overseas duty. Its outcome will also determine whether the Forces' internal regulations can override the equality provisions under the Canadian charter. "The case is significant," Lieberman says, "because it could tell the Canadian Forces they should be subject to Canadian law. Up until now they've said, because of the nature of the work they do, they need special laws."

In late 1990, when Lieberman was a navy lieutenant in the Canadian Forces Reserve, the defence department asked for volunteers for possible duty in the Gulf, where tensions were rising. Lieberman responded to a job posting for an executive assistant to the commander of the Canadian Forces—

"the kind of job a reservist rarely gets to apply for," he acknowledges. "a career officer's job." His commanding officer recommended him and it all seemed to be falling in place in January 1991, when Lieberman received calls from Defence officials asking if he would be available on short notice. He was told to get a military passageway, take a medical exam and get unannounced. That convinced him to give his notice at his job in the communications department of the B.C. ministry of trade, that then he waited for the word to go. And waited. "Eventually," he asked, "What's going on?" Lieberman recalls. "Are they not calling because I've always been a bit disturbed?" Is it because the war is going to end soon? Or is it because I'm Jewish?"

At the beginning of February, he learned that he would not be going. A Vancouver Navy Reserve staff officer relayed a message from Maritime Command Headquarters in Halifax. According to Lieberman, "they decided it would be unwise to send a Jew to the Middle East." And, in his words, "I blew a gasket." He knew an internal rule, Canadian Forces Administrative Order 39-53, directs that race, religion and ethnic origin be considered in making peacekeeping postings, despite the charter's protection against discrimination based on those grounds. But Lieberman decided to give his exclamation, a fight he continued even

**Lieberman: Accessing the Canadian Forces of denying him the right to fight**

though he accepted a post aboard the destroyer HMCS *Restigouche* a year after the war, monitoring the Iraqi trade embargo for three months. In 1995, after the grievance procedure provided no satisfaction, he had Vancouver lawyer Gerald Levey, a former judge advocate for the Canadian Forces and a commander in the Navy Reserve, file suit in federal court.

Levey died last year from cancer, but Lieberman's current lawyer, Samuel Hyman, says the case is more than just an issue of one Jew being denied a position in the Gulf War. "It affects both the people of the country who are not their French nor English in their ancestry," Hyman says. "Shouldn't all Canadians, regardless of their ethnicity, be equal?" Hyman argues that not only was Lieberman deprived of his rights and freedoms, but he also lost a significant career opportunity as being denied the job he wanted. The government lawyer, Linda Wolf of the department of justice, declined to comment on the suit. "We normally don't talk about cases outside the court," she said. But the government's statement of defence, filed with the court, denies that any application of Administrative Order 39-53 infringed Lieberman's rights, and asserts that any limitations it applied were "demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society."

In U.S. military postings during the Gulf War, there were no such limitations, says Herb Rosenfeld, national executive director of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America. He estimates that between 5,000 and 7,000 American Jews served in the Gulf. "Secretary of Defence [Dick] Cheney said he was sending units, not individuals, to the war," says Rosenfeld. "When your unit went, you went."

The Canadian government's defence also states that the executive assistant job Lieberman was seeking "did not come open as expected and accordingly there was no position to which Lieberman could be transferred."

Lieberman, however, contends that another person was chosen for the job, but never took the post because the war ended. Taking a break from his suiting, Lieberman explains he is not fighting the government for monetary gain, but just wants to change what he sees as a discriminatory practice. "I want to shake up the Forces and get rid of the racism for other people to get in," he says. "They shouldn't be subject to the Canadian Charter of Rights just like every one else."

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# JUSTICE

## Final vindication

A report spreads the blame for Morin's conviction

Gay Paul Morin can finally get on with his life. For more than 30 years, and throughout two federal regime number stints in which he was first acquitted and then convicted, he had to endure the stigma of being guilty in the eyes of the law of the 1984 sex slaying of his nine-year-old neighbor, Christine Jessup. Even after DNA evidence exonerated Morin in January, 2005, some still believed he was the perpetrator. But last week, former Quebec

prosecutor said: "This closes a chapter—a big chapter—in my life."

Not so for others. The Jessup family must continue to live with the awful uncertainty of not knowing who killed Christine, who disappeared from their home in Greenfield, Que., 40 km north of Toronto in October, 1984. Her remains were found in December in a farmer's field 55 km to the east. "This inquiry was not about Christine," said her mother, Janet Jessup. "It was about Mr.



Janet Jessup, late Morin, Gay Paul Morin and Janet Jessup. (Photo: AP)

Appeal Court Judge Fred Kaufman, head of a judicial inquiry into the miscarriage of justice, declared Morin innocent "beyond a shadow of a doubt."

Kaufman's 1,280-page report makes it clear that virtually everyone involved in the system—from the police and prosecutors to forensic scientists to government representatives—has plenty of work to do to make sure those mistakes are not repeated. Speaking cheerily to Morin, Kaufman noted that one of the major tasks of the inquiry was to determine how an innocent man was convicted of a crime he did not commit. But, he added, the inquiry also served to demolish any lingering doubts anybody might have had about Morin's role in the still-unresolved murder. "Though this was not one of the stated purposes of the inquiry, I am pleased that it has served to explain and demonstrate your innocence," he said. "Speaking to reporters later, the 38-year-old Morin, now married, expecting a baby and pursuing a career as

Morin." In February, 1995, the Ontario attorney general's office transferred the case from the Durham Regional Police to the Toronto police. But after interviewing more than 300 suspects, a special, nine-man task force disbanded in March. While the case of fidelity remains open, homicide detectives concede they will need a lucky lead if the killer's killer is ever to be apprehended.

As for the justice system's blunders, Kaufman said he believed no Crown counsel or police officers "ever intended to convict an innocent person." Rather, he said, they developed a "staggering" tunnel vision regarding their belief in Morin's guilt that led to a lack of objectivity and serious errors in judgment. "The intent may not have been to convict," Morin observed calmly, "but the blunders were there." Many of Kaufman's 115 recommendations deal with ways in which police and prosecutors can avoid a similar blind set. They range from better interviewing techniques and improved methods of gathering

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of Nova Scotia

## JUSTICE

and storage evidence from a crime scene, to continuing education of officers.

The timing of the report raised a few eyebrows, and officers on the day before a long weekend is traditionally a time when governments and corporations release information they hope will get little notice. But courtroom officials said April 9 was simply the earliest date that the massive, two-volume report, originally scheduled for release on March 31, could be translated into French and printed. And reporters, in fact, did turn out in droves. Most of the parties involved in the Morris saga received copies of the report only a few hours after its scheduled release. And while they all said their initial reaction was positive, they still had to study the contents more carefully. One exception, Ontario Attorney General Charles Harnick, who promised to implement all recommendations affecting his ministry, even without knowing how many there were or how much it would cost. "Money," he said, "is not the object in ensuring we have a justice system that works."

Ken Jessup, 38, who was 14 when his sister disappeared, and he, too, was generally pleased with the report. He and his mother have reached a reconciliation with Morris, after having initially been concerned of a link that he no longer speaks with his father. Bob Jessup, who broke ties with the family after the investigation process uncovered evidence that Ken and his father began had sexually abused Christine. During the media scrutiny after the report's release, Ken and Janet Jessup posed and exchanged hugs with Morris and his mother, Ma.

Matt and his lawyer, James Lockyer, also said that they were satisfied with the conclusion report. Several of Kaufman's recommendations, in fact, appear to be lifted from Lockyer's written submission to the inquiry. These include: calling the person on trial by name, instead of "the accused," allowing the person—in the absence of a proven security risk—to sit with counsel, rather than in the prisoner's dock, and limiting the ability of a trial judge to express personal opinions in a series of credibility to the jury. Still, Kaufman did not go as far as Ma Morris and Lockyer wished in one particular area: banning jailhouse informants. Said Lockyer: "When you get 99 per cent of the recommendations you were looking for, you know to the 99 and not the 100 per cent." The testimony of two witnesses, Robert Desai May and a convicted

pedophile who can only be identified as Mr. X, who claimed they heard Morris confess to the Jessup murders, proved critical in the case and trial. Whether police should rely on informants thus became a key issue at the inquiry. Although he did not suggest banning witnesses outright, Kaufman made 33 recommendations that would more strongly govern their use, including better guidelines for determining their reliability, restrictions on the benefits they can receive for their testimony, and creation of an informer registry.

Kaufman also took a hard look at the role forensic science played in Morris's ordeal, and he helped to counter harm, scientifically motivated, and said the judge: "We will never know if Guy Paul Morris would have been exonerated had DNA testing not been available." In particular, Kaufman concluded that Ontario's Centre for Forensic Sciences is "seriously under-resourced" in its "substantial" contribution to Morris's troubles. The centre had the fact that some samples it analyzed were contaminated at the lab, lost other samples, and came to conclusions that could not be supported by the science. Kaufman dedicated \$3 of his recommendations to avoiding a repeat scenario, suggesting that forensic opinions be acted on only when they are in writing, that some cases only undergo a single review, and that the centre monitor the courtroom testimony of its employees. Dr. James Young, Ontario's chief coroner said the centre has already started working on many of the suggestions that came out of the inquiry, including the installation of a new \$750,000 lab and after analysis lab. "It was not our best work—we make no bones about that," says Young. "But we haven't moved since the last 14 years. There are major differences in the lab of today."

For the Jessups, Recommendation 38—calling for the establishment of a national DNA data bank—may hold the key to apprehending Christine's father. A bill now before Parliament would allow that, providing a catalogue of DNA samples of people convicted of certain violent offenses, as well as setting up a crime scene index for DNA profiles obtained from unsolved crime scenes. "Statistically, the only way we are going to find Christine's murderer is through a DNA match," says Tim Dinning, the Jessup's family lawyer. "A person who commits that kind of an offence is going to do it again."



Catherine Jessup, smiling

**DNA testing  
could still  
find the killer**

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# Customizing a degree

British Columbia offers a range of accessible choices

BY CHRIS WOOD

When Andrea Laliberte first walked into a classroom at University College of the Cariboo in Kamloops, 250 km northwest of Vancouver in the fall of 1993, she was hardly the typical underdog. She was 34, far over the age of the post-graduate students she was training business modelling between herds on cattle ranches that she had left the books. But after abandoning an

incomplete agricultural degree in her native Germany in 1984 to marry and move to her husband's native Canada, Laliberte was ready to expand her horizons. "I wanted to go back to school," she recalls, "but I didn't want to travel to Vancouver—a necessity if she wanted to attend either of the two biggest B.C. universities (the two others are even more distant, in Victoria and Prince George). So Laliberte enrolled instead at her local community college. She graduated a year ago with a bachelor of science degree in natural resources. It cost about half what university charges for a similar degree. And she was able to live at home. As a bonus, Cariboo even gave Laliberte credit for her studies in Germany.

Chances? Closer to home, more accessible. More accommodating. They are among the reasons why half the people pursuing a bachelor-level degree in British Columbia no longer study at a traditional university. Instead, they take advantage of a system of credit-transfer, among community colleges, universities and "university colleges"—hybrid degree-granting institutions with their roots in vocational and technical training—to chart their own, individual course towards a degree. The system is not new, it dates back 30 years. But increasingly, it is gaining attention from the rest of the country. Driven by concern over shrinking access to higher education and the mounting debt burdens borne by recent graduates, educators in other provinces are looking more closely at British Columbia's answer to a widening dilemma: how to deliver more degrees to more graduates, for less money.

To follow British Columbia's lead, however, the rest of the country would need to abandon a time-honored division in

higher education. Apart from Alberta, which allows a more relaxed form of credit-transfer, most other provinces preserve a clear distinction between degree-granting universities and community colleges, which teach vocational and technical skills. A striking exception is the University College of Cape Breton, which offers what it calls "blend-of" programs to about half its 3,000 students: graduates receive an academic degree as well as a diploma certifying that they have acquired skills on a related field—a degree in English literature, for example, in parallel with a diploma in stage lighting.

Under pressure from cash-strapped students, the distinction is beginning to break down elsewhere as well. In February, academic administrators from across Ontario met in Ottawa to discuss a handful of new partnerships between colleges and universities that are paid for by the province to spring up. Among them, Nipissing University and North Bay's Canadian College collaborated to offer a bachelor's degree in applied technology to an other example, the University of Windsor is accepting community college coursework for advanced credit in business studies. The newest proposal sees McMaster University in Hamilton sharing a health sciences program with Mohawk College on the same building. Still, some of these innovations go as far as British Columbia has "British Columbia," says Simon Fraser University vice-president David Gagan, who has spent much of his career in Ontario and Manitoba, "is light-years ahead in terms of integration at the college and university systems."

Small wonder: it was pleased that way. When the B.C. government created the province's first community colleges in the 1960s, a central goal was to make a easier for students from remote locations and rural areas to get to university—ok, all the way to the extreme lower left of the B.C. map. From the start, governments pushed colleges and universities to agree on common academic standards so that students could study at colleges for credit towards a university degree. Now, every month, the B.C. Council on Admissions and Transfer, which oversees the process, says in its latest report to an estimated 40,000 combinations of college courses and university transfer credits. Using it, says council executive-director Frank Gelles, "a student will know in advance what credits he will get for any course offered at Capilano College, say, at any of the B.C. universities."

The system has not gone unopposed. Between one-third and one-half of the students attending the province's 11 community and five university colleges are now taking degree-track courses—as many as 50,000 people last year, by some estimates. What is more, says Gelles, about 50 per cent of the stu-



Alison Hewiker in a microbiology lab at Fraser Valley, taking advantage of a credit-transfer system

dents entering B.C. universities are enrolling from college with up to half their course work for a four-year degree already complete. The flexible system particularly benefits mature students like Laliberte, who may return part-time to the classroom while maintaining work and family priorities. The average age of students in the college system is 32.

In an established credit-transfer system, British Columbia began to add a new refinement a decade ago—one that is only now taking full effect. In 1989, five community colleges received the designation "university college," and with it the right to offer four-year degree programs in partnership with existing universities. Teaching has passed at the colleges, degrees have the parent university's name. Now, that too has begun to change. Armed with new powers granted in 1990, university colleges are shaking out such partnerships in favor of degrees bearing their own name. Some are familiar: bachelors of arts and bachelors of science. Others are new. This June, University College of the Fraser Valley (where the political economy of Latin America shares the calendar with practical milling) will grant its first bachelor of business administration degree in aviation. Soering will award a bachelor of science in business administration in forestry and land use management. The list goes on. "We expect to add a couple of degrees a year for some time."

The result is a range of relatively low-cost educational choices beyond what is available in other provinces. Maureen Parke, chairman of the 50,000-member B.C. wing of the Canadian Federation of Students, laments the shortages elsewhere. Now 28, Parke spent the first few years after high school in a string of go-nowhere retail and waitressing jobs, before she returned to classes in 1986 at Victoria's Capilano College. In 1988, she transferred to the University of Victoria and entered third-year history. At college, argues Parke, "you're essentially receiving the same education" as in first- and second-year university. But the price "is almost half. The average tuition for a degree-track program at a B.C. college last year

was \$2,292. At a university, it was \$2,952. Free, admittedly, is only part of the comparison. University administrators point to a greater selection of courses and resources, to say nothing of extracurricular activities, to justify the higher fees. "That's a disservice," concedes University of British Columbia registrar Richard Spencer. "I doubt it's the determining factor." In any case, Spencer adds, the popularity of colleges has hardly led to universities scrambling to fill places.

Like Simon Fraser and Victoria, UBC annually trains away far more applicants than it accepts. Of course, higher university tuition also has something to do with the migration to the workplace. It is a quick of being. Greg Madson, 33, will receive a B.Sc. in Simon Fraser's name when he graduates in biology this June—even though he has studied for four years at Fraser Valley. But it will be one of the last such degrees awarded. After 2000, Fraser Valley will grant B.Sc.s in its own name. "The only reason I stayed here was because I was still a Simon Fraser feeble," Madson says. "I saved money going here. I think I got better grades. I saved more than I would have at a big university." But still, he adds, if you go for a job they want to see the insignia of a university on the diploma.

The same concern bothered Candy Meysa. After finishing high school in British Columbia, she spent a year teaching her graduates. Soakwater was firm before returning to college to study general science. In 1992, she was among the first recipients of a B.Sc. in natural resources from Cariboo. "It's a bit unusual," Meysa says about the institution. "I was concerned." Not any more. Meysa is now enrolled, along with Laliberte, in a master's program in natural resource management at Oregon State University in Corvallis, 120 km south of Portland. "I think we're well prepared," says Meysa. "Our program was fairly intense, so it [in fact, research by the B.C. Council on Admissions and Transfer] confirmed that students who begin their undergraduate years at a community college and complete it at university, do neither better nor worse than those who go directly to university. It is literally no disadvantage to a student whatsoever," says UBC's Spencer, "to do their first and second year of a program at a college."

There are, indeed, a handful who "know somebody at Simon Fraser who's doing a master's right now," comments Madson. "We have to make do with models." But Laliberte, pursuing her master's in Oregon, says, "I don't feel any lack of education." And talking with a reporter in a small common room at Fraser Valley, biology major Steve Klein offers a quid pro quo. "The price, for what you can get, I think it is the best." Good enough, certainly, to attract growing interest from provinces where the high cost of a traditional university education is forcing more Canadians to forego the experience entirely.

PHOTOGRAPH BY JENNIFER THOMAS



# Duet with Beethoven

A top violinist dedicates 1998 to the composer

Superior violinist Anne-Sophie Mutter is not one for half-measures. Adverse to fast cars, strapless designer gowns and Ella Fitzgerald, the 34-year-old former child prodigy from Germany is currently performing the complete cycle of Beethoven's *Sonatas for Piano and Violin* around the world. In fact, she is playing nothing else this year. The arduous Mutter, whose last two tons and emotional commitment means have made her the darling of critics and audiences alike, compares the project to another of her passions: mountain climbing. "Working your way through all 10 of Beethoven's sonatas is like overcoming the difficulty of a mountain," she said in a recent interview. "Nothing beats reaching the wonderful *G major Sonata* at the end, where Beethoven is so philosophical, so serene. But if you don't walk through the preceding nine sonatas first, it is a different animal."

With Lambert Orkis, her pianist of 13 years, Mutter will record the cycle live for Deutsche Grammophon at the end of the year, at her most of the full concert—excluding her at Toronto's Ford Centre for the Performing Arts on April 26, 27 and 28. Her new place. "Experience says to live with program as long as you can, a barren the Mauthausen museum."

Mutter should know—she has been performing professionally for more than 20 years. Only 13 when her astonishing talent came to the attention of conductor Herbert von Karajan, the irrepressible dubbed her "the greatest musical prodigy since the young Mozart." Mutter is members being odds for that crucial first encounter. "I was sure he'd just send me back home. I didn't know then, that I was so young, what I might have lost."

Mutter's debt to her mentor goes well beyond the recordings with him that started her career as such solid ground. Her loyalty from Karajan includes impeccable technique and the intellectual thoroughness of her working methods. Mutter prepared for



Mutter ascends mountain climbing and charity

her. "I studied Louis XIV," Mutter says of her impossibly first steps into contemporary repertoire. "That's a mistake, not to know that there are strange and difficult things to learn. That is what makes being a musician so wonderful."

Mutter has said her knees are shaking over an upcoming commission from the independent-minded French composer Pierre Boulez. A notoriously slow worker, Boulez, now 73, has so far said Mutter only an "initial piece" for though might be expanded for her. "I merely wrote back that I faced some form of brutal voice writing," Mutter says diplomatically. "Now, I'm just waiting. But it is clear to me that he's not going to let me order it like a pair of shoes."

Nat that Mutter isn't stragglers herself. At 31, she cancelled a performance when she and the conductor could not agree on the tempo. She once refused to play a commissioned work that didn't make sense to her. And she has a truly admirable attitude for someone who has been so successful: "I will just have a day at home with my kids instead."

In fact, time with her young son and daughter is a priority for Mutter, who learned that the Beethoven year is "really up a lot of space." But beyond occasional references to her children—including an upcoming summer holiday at the Grand Canyon—Mutter will not discuss her personal life. Nor did she make any public statement when their father and her husband of six years (and fellow mountain climber) died of cancer in August, 1995. The quiet enough perhaps, was the remarkable Martin Reichel, who died of cancer in August, 1995. The quiet enough perhaps, was the remarkable Martin Reichel, who died of cancer in August, 1995.

Mutter recorded with the following youth—in particular her profoundly moving interpretation of Mozart's *Sonata in A minor*, K. 304, composed just after the death of his mother.

In the meantime, Mutter has a lot of unfinished business with Beethoven, including to finish eight quartets so that she can play his late quartets. She is also passionate about the many charitable activities she takes part in or supports, ranging from benefit performances for sufferers of cystic fibrosis to her foundation for young musicians. "It's great to see what you can do with a concert," she says. "You can bring people together. And you can build an orphanage in its name." No real surprises here, either, for Anne-Sophie Mutter.

ELISSA POOL

# Ambitious anarchist

Two years before his death in 1965, Canadian writer George Woodcock paid a visit to the Dalai Lama, the exiled spiritual ruler of Tibet, who had stopped off in Vancouver. In greeting the Dalai Lama, Woodcock took the shoulders and touched their foreheads together. Woodcock wrote later of the visit to his friend, writer Douglas Fetherling, reporting that he was deeply touched because "in Tibet, such a greeting was an honor accorded only to great scholars or great spiritual leaders."

Woodcock was neither. Yet after reading *The Gentle Anarchist* (Douglas & McIntyre, 244 pages, \$34), Fetherling's perceptive and affectionate biography, it is hard not to conclude that the Dalai Lama's tribute was entirely deserved. Besides being a prodigiously productive and successful writer, Woodcock, it seems, was also a good man. Over the years, he and his wife, long-bond, raised hundreds of thousands of dollars to help Tibetan refugees in northern India. And in 1988, he used his savings to

launch the Woodcock Fund, which helps impoverished writers. Such acts of generosity were almost a full-time occupation. Yet during his 60-year career, Woodcock also churned out more than 150 books of travel, biography, history, poetry and criticism.

Woodcock's huge output creates a problem for Fetherling, who begins a running through mostly successfully but in his book from sounding like an annotated bibliography. As well, Woodcock was not a particularly colorful man, and in telling that the most compelling writing in *The Gentle Anarchist* is not about him, but about his more famous mentor, George Orwell, the subject of Woodcock's classic 1968 study, *The Crystal Spirit*. Still, Fetherling gives an engaging account whenever the facts allow. Often rebuffed by anarchists, who disliked him for his English accent and his internationalist views, Woodcock was in fact born in Winnipeg in 1912, through his

English parents to Britain. Deeply wounded by his father's death when he was 14, Woodcock grew up in shabby gentility, a brilliant student, but too poor to attend university. Fetherling's sympathetic evocation of his son of being out of a home as a London clerk while spending his spare time breaking into libraries and an ardent socialist. Woodcock founded the radical-anarchist magazine *New and New* and was a notorious objector who served as a farm worker in the Second World War. In 1949, he and the German-born Ingeborg arranged to travel to British Columbia—partly, Fetherling says, to compensate for his bookkeeper father's lack of success in North America.

George Woodcock mixed warmth and word power

By good on Woodcock's own account, showing how it evolved from a rather cold skepticism into a more accessible, co-operative humanism based on local loyalty. This 1962 history, *Anarchism*, is surely one of his best. Woodcock might have written better if he had written less. But unlike so many writers, he never let his compulsion to publish stifle his humanity. It was for this, not just his books, that the Dalai Lama bowed heads.

JOHN BERNHEIM

## IMAGINATION FEATURE

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## BOOKS

has traditionally been asleep, in risk with dramatic torque and overt predictability. Coupland's style, meanwhile, is sometimes precious. And yet, *Generation X* is Coupland's most successful novel to date, and it marks something of a watershed in his career. Despite the occasional dash of dead-on social observation, it appears to be an argument against satire and sarcasm. Coupland, but often moving, it steps firmly into the realm of spiritual philosophy.

Maybe there are signs of conversion in Coupland's appearance, which often seems as curiously eroded as his metaphysics. (One example: "I couldn't help noticing how clean and blue the sky was," says the ghost-faced, one of Coupland's narrators, "like a freshly squeezed window.") Back in the '80s, with *Generation X* and *Shampoo Planet* (1992), Coupland was the ironic-laced, neo-noirist youth, all diatribe and satire. Then, with *Microserfs* (his 1995 novel about programming apparitions at Microsoft Corp.), Coupland cut his hair, shaved his jaw checks to the consistency of rice paper, and donned a jacket and tie—advice transfered to the former now read as digital computerization, a darling of the *Wired* magazine set.

Now, with *Generation X* is Coupland in a Cows, this time once a plain shirt, the hair is slightly long and messy, and the close-cropped jaw now covered by a beard. Coupland could pass for a Brian Frons University enigma studies undergrad or an L. L. Bean catalogue model. And Coupland seems pretty comfortable in this incarnation. In fact, for a parody guru of the information Age, he is remarkably unengaged in it. He's on the Web. He doesn't watch television, except for *The Simpsons* and videos called *World's Scariest Police Chases*—which he says are "really good." Living alone in his hillside house near Horseshoe Bay, he prefers low-tech pastimes, reading three newspapers a day and sculpting, an art form for which he secured a master's degree in the early '80s at the College of Art and Design.

Sitting in a posh Toronto hotel lounge sipping coffee, Coupland struggles to find words to describe the genesis of *Generation X* in a Cows. "It's so weird to talk about this out loud," he says. But eventually, between frequent changes of subject, he remembers that it began with a random novel he'd chosen, *Thausen* by John. "He and the very young people deal with the overabundance of existence—I'm paraphrasing—is through time travel or sleep," Coupland says. "So what I wanted to do was present sleep and time travel, and the comic as the embodiment of both." Then there was his fascina-

tion with Karen Ann Quinlan. "Just random, but in the '70s, every few weeks there would be this one picture of her in all the papers and magazines," Coupland says. "It was just that one rhetorical image, and part of me wondered, 'OK, what would it be like to look at the person through that lens?'"

But the novel also arose from the author's bouts of depression. In 1996, which he describes as a sort of waking version of a coma, Coupland rarely left his home—his first experience of agoraphobia—and he "had this unbelievable depression for the whole year," he says. "Like, my high highs for 1996 was making casseroles twice." He does not want to go on about it—talking about depression is "boring"—but the coincidences with *Generation X* and the apocalyptic vision that takes up the second half of the book are clear. "I found that everything was just, like, my brain was just shutting down," he recalls. "And the world was sort of just over."

Clearly, he has emerged from that season in purgatory with a keener interest in the metaphysical. At first, the premise of *Generation X* is a Cows seems ludicrous for the kind of cultural critique the author is known for the reader—and her friends in the novel—expect. Kirm to wake up and not about the emptiness of the material world. "Cleaning. Life on

Mass Vectors. Charles and Diana. M.A.C. cosmetics," he Richard says. But Kirm opens the book. What she notices is the bag picture. "I see," she says, "in business in modern people." It is a telling scene—the triumph of consumerism. And it shows an author who is moving beyond the ironic voice and into the uncomfortable, but perhaps more fertile, territory of spirituality. "Sleep has its benefits," says Coupland. "You can go to really interesting places with it, but you can't go to the best place with it."

With *Generation X* in a Cows, he hasn't quite reached that best place—but he seems to be on his way. And if nothing else, the book should help Coupland put well behind him the "hyper-intellectualism and cynicism" that has dogged him for good or ill, for nearly a decade. He admits to being a bit bored with the whole thing. "It's just so obvious that there's some new generation happening that it's not worth arguing any more," he says. "Now, *Generation X* is like 13 or 14, or you get 25-year-olds—love to watch people writing and reading and writing and sleep. It's 'wenger' a word? Or it's one of those words that just sounds weird?" On the other hand, he seems to have come to terms with being seen as, well, Gen X Guy. "It makes for a much more difficult," Coupland says. There, with a Warholian despondency. "It's like my soap opera." □

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# Geoffrey Stevens

## A leadership worth running away from

**A**nyone who has been watching television in recent weeks can only be at awe of the worthy souls who read the network news—their rigorous self-discipline and the stern grip they keep on their emotions. Not once has either of the Peters (Maclean/Levy or Kent) or Lloyd (Robertson) done what any other Canadian would surely do—complain with laughter or roll hysterically on the floor and have to be removed from the set while making the latest news of the on-ground Progressive Conservative Percy of Canada.

That anyone still takes the Tories seriously is a reflection of the party's just, not an expectation for its future. It has become a headless ramp with fifth-party status in a five-party Parliament—and it would be gilding the lily to describe its future as bleak. In truth, the party has no future at all unless at least two of three things happen: the Reform party self-destructs in the West, the Bloc Québécois vanishes from the federal scene, Ontario forgives Brian Mulroney.

The loss of Jean Chrétien to a greyness more to a party still struggling to crawl out of the graveyard of the 1995 election where it took just two seats. With Chrétien, it made a bit of sense in 1997—in 20 seats and official party status again. An exceptional individual, he had some appeal in Ontario and offered a breath of hope that the party might open its eyes to attract anti-Glenn votes in Quebec and to regain a degree of respectability in Western Canada. He was the only good thing the Conservatives had going for them.

The recent leadership is the sort of pitfall that any sensible politician would run away from, not flee—and none of the credible figures in Torydom are doing just that. Manitoba Premier Gary Filmon withdrew his name before anyone even had time to think of him as a candidate. The Ralph Klein boxer lost was a signpost of the news media's orchestrated examination. Klein is not a fool. He has a perfectly good job running Alberta with a good prospect of getting re-elected. So long as he stays in Ottawa, he would have a perfectly horrible job with no realistic prospect of ever becoming prime minister. Stephen Harper, the bilingual former Reform MP, spent enough time in Ottawa to know he doesn't want to go back there to try to make the right. John Crosbie is too old and still doesn't speak French. Barbara McDougal has too much sense. Perrin Beatty has the only shot in Ottawa—president of the CBC—that's worse than Tory leader, but at least he has job security.

A few people are interested. Besides MP Peter MacKay, son of Bruce's pawning the ground, Brian Pallister is actively taking soundings. And who's Brian Pallister? Ah, he is from Portage la Prairie and

used to be minister of government services in Manitoba. Then there is Jan Domagala, the ex-treasurer of Alberta, who reminds his admirers of a young Joe Clark with spectacles.

With no horses on the course yet, the early leader in Ontario's Hugh Segal, the 47-year-old veteran of three decades in party backrooms whose closest brush with elected office came in two failed bids for a Commons seat in the early 1970s. A charter member of the long-disseminated Blue Machine, Segal has worked for former Ontario premier Bill Davis, former prime minister Mulroney and, of late, as a constitutional adviser to Premier Mike Harris. He has been running unofficially for the leadership ever since the debacle of 1993, positioning himself in the Out. True Tory who will keep the remnants of the party out of the Vile Clutches of the Reformers. Segal's greatest asset may be his sense of humor, which is a rare commodity among Conservatives. He'll need it.

Of course, wherever there is a perceived front-runner, there has to be a stop-the-front-runner movement. The Stop-Segal movement consists of two elements: those Tories who fear he would lead the party to the left as a bid for mainstream respectability, and those who are pointing to keep into bed with Reform. Their problem is finding a candidate to rally behind. 1994 is a long year, their current candidate of choice—pending the emergence of someone more suitable to the right wing—is Joe Clark. Top, the same Joe Clark who was regarded as a Red Tory when he was the leadership in 1975. Rebuffed and by adversity and age, Clark, now 58, may still be useful, but it is a pale pick next to the scarlet of Segal. (Clark would have the support of all Mulroney-era party luminaries, including, ironically, the Brian himself. "Mulroney will support Joe," says a prominent Segal backer, adding smugly "But that's not to say he'd vote for him.")

If history means anything, Clark, as an Albertan, would be the more auspicious choice. Since Sir John A. Macdonald, the Tories have never had a leader from Ontario who could win Western Canada. But they have had three westerners—R. B. Bennett, John Diefenbaker and Clark himself—who won in Ontario. Segal, in fact, would have to turn traditional Conservative strategy on its head. In pre-Mulroney days, the party cautiously wrote off Quebec and concentrated on trying to win enough southern Ontario and the West to form a government. Under the bilingual, moderate Segal, the Conservatives would find themselves writing off the West and hoping to shakedown the Liberals in Ontario and the Bloc in Quebec. If the future seems bleak for the Tories, it is, but that's an early day, and where there is a train, there is hope. A survivor may yet emerge. Or perhaps an albino. Would you believe Tim Campbell? Streamer, this is serious stuff. No laughing allowed.



Segal, Clark (right), lefties hordes and the redneck right?



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